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JOURNAL

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OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

CONGRESS.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONGRESS,

Held at PHILADELPHIA,
September 5, 1774.

R.d Bennett Esq
Edw: Lloyd

PHILADELPHIA:
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A LIST *of the* DEPUTIES *or* DELEGATES *who attended the* Congress *held at* Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774.

From *New Hampſhire.*

Major John Sullivan, Eſq;
Col. Nathaniel Folsom, Eſq;

From *Maſſachuſetts-Bay.*

The hon. Thomas Cushing, Eſq;
Mr. Samuel Adams,
John Adams, Eſq;
Robert Treat Paine, Eſq;

From *Rhode-Iſland.*

The hon. Stephen Hopkins, Eſq;
The hon. Samuel Ward, Eſq;

From *Connecticut.*

The hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Eſq;
Silas Deane, Eſq;
The hon. Roger Sherman, Eſq;

From *New-York.*

James Duane, Eſq;
John Jay, Eſq;
Philip Livingston, Eſq;
Isaac Low, Eſq;
John Alsop, Eſq;
Col. William Floyd, Eſq;
Henry Wisner,
John Herring, Eſq;
S. Boerum, Eſq;

From *New-Jerſey.*

James Kinsey, Eſq;
William Livingston, Eſq;
John De Hart, Eſq;
Stephen Crane, Eſq;
Richard Smith, Eſq;

From *Pennſylvania.*

The hon. Joseph Galloway, Eſq;
Samuel Rhoads, Eſq;
Thomas Mifflin, Eſq;
Charles Humphreys, Eſq;
John Morton, Eſq;
George Ross, Eſq;
Edward Biddle, Eſq;
John Dickinson, Eſq;

From the Government of the Counties of *New-caſtle*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex* on *Delaware.*

The hon. Cæsar Rodney, Eſq;
Thomas M'Kean, Eſq;
George Read, Eſq;

From *Maryland.*

The hon. Matthew Tilghman, Eſq;
Thomas Johnson, Eſq;
Robert Goldsborough, Eſq;
William Paca, Eſq;
Samuel Chase, Eſq;

From *Virginia.*

The hon. Peyton Randolph, Eſq;
Richard Henry Lee, Eſq;
George Washington, Eſq;
Patrick Henry, Jun. Eſq;

Richard Bland, Eſq;
Benjamin Harrison, Eſq;
Edmund Pendleton, Eſq;

From *North-Carolina.*

William Hooper, Eſq;
Joseph Hewes, Eſq;
Richard Caswell, Eſq;

From *South-Carolina.*

The hon. Henry Middleton, Eſq;
John Rutledge, Eſq;
Thomas Lynch, Eſq;
Christopher Gadsden, Eſq;
Edward Rutledge. Eſq;

* * *

ERRATA.

Pag. 80 for condition *read* conſtitution.

JOURNAL, &c.

MONDAY, September 5th. 1774.

A NUMBER of the Delegates, choſen and appointed by the ſeveral Colonies and Provinces in North-America, to meet and hold a Congreſs at Philadelphia, aſſembled at the Carpenters' Hall.

PRESENT.

From *New-Hampſhire,*

Major John Sullivan, Eſq;
Col. Nathaniel Folsom, Eſq;

From *Maſſachuſetts-Bay,*

The Hon. Thomas Cushing, Eſq;
Mr. Samuel Adams,
John Adams, } Eſqrs.
Robert Treat Paine, }

From *Rhode-Iſland* and *Providence Plantations*,

The Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Eſq;
The Hon. Samuel Ward, Eſq;

From *Connecticut*,

The Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Eſq;
Silas Deane, Eſq;
The Hon. Roger Sherman, Eſq;

From *The City and County of New-York, and other Counties in the Province of New-York*,

James Duane,
John Jay,
Philip Livingston,
Isaac Low,
} Eſqrs.

From *The County of Suffolk in the Province of New-York*,

Col. William Floyd, Eſq;

From *New-Jerſey*,

James Kinsey,
William Livingston,
John Dehart,
Stephen Crane,
Richard Smith,
} Eſqrs.

From *Pennſylvania*,

The Hon. JOSEPH GALLOWAY,
SAMUEL RHOADS,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
CHARLES HUMPHREYS,
JOHN MORTON,
EDWARD BIDDLE,
Eſqrs.

From *New-Caſtle, Kent and Suſſex, on Delaware*,

The Hon. CÆSAR RODNEY,
THOMAS M'KEAN,
GEORGE READ,
Eſqrs.

From *Maryland*,

ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH,
WILLIAM PACA,
SAMUEL CHASE,
Eſqrs,

From *Virginia*,

The Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
PATRICK HENRY,
RICHARD BLAND,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
EDMUND PENDLETON,
Eſqrs.

From *South-Carolina*,

HENRY MIDDLETON,
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,
THOMAS LYNCH,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
Eſqrs.

THE Congreſs proceeded to the Choice of a Preſident, when the Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Eſq; was unanimouſly elected.

Mr. CHARLES THOMSON was unanimouſly choſen Secretary.

THE Gentlemen from the ſeveral Colonie
produced their reſpective Credentials, whic
were read and approved,—as follows——

Province of NEW-HAMPSHIRE. } AT a Meeting of the Deputies appointed by th
ſeveral towns in this Province held at Exeter, in the County of Rockingham, 21ſt July, 1774, for the election
Delegates, on behalf of this Province, to jo
the General Congreſs propoſed.—Preſent 8
Members.

The Hon. JOHN WENTWORTH, Eſq; in t
Chair.

Voted, THAT Major JOHN SULLIVAN, a
Colonel NATHANIEL FOLSOM, Eſqrs; be a
pointed and empowered, as Delegates, on t
part of this Province, to attend and aſſiſt in
General Congreſs of Delegates from the ot
Colonies, at ſuch time and place, as may be
pointed to deviſe, conſult and adopt meaſu
as may have the moſt likely tendency to ex
cate the Colonies from their preſent difficult
to ſecure and perpetuate their Rights, Liber

and Privileges, and to reſtore that Peace, Harmony and mutual Confidence, which once happily ſubſiſted between the Parent Country and her Colonies.

J. WENTWORTH, *Chairman.*

Province of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. } In the Houſe of Repreſentatives, June 17, 1774.

THIS Houſe having duly conſidered and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences, which have long ſubſiſted and are increaſing between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, do reſolve, That a Meeting of Committees from the ſeveral Colonies on this Continent is highly expedient and neceſſary, to conſult upon the preſent ſtate of the Colonies, and the miſeries to which they are and muſt be reduced by the operation of certain Acts of Parliament reſpecting America. and to deliberate and determine upon wiſe and proper meaſures to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and eſtabliſhment of their juſt Rights and Liberties civil and religious, and the reſtoration of Union and Harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies moſt ardently deſired by all good Men.—Therefore Reſolved that the Hon. JAMES BOWDOINE, Eſq; the Hon. THOMAS CUSHING, Eſq; Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS and ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Eſqrs; be and they are hereby appointed a Committee on the part of this Province, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, any three of whom to be a quorum; to meet ſuch Committees or Delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their reſpective Houſes of Burgeſſes, or Repreſentatives, or by Convention, or by the Committees of Correſpondence appointed by the reſpective Houſes of Aſſembly, in the City of Philadelphia, or any other place that ſhall be judged moſt ſuitable by the Committee, on the 1ſt Day of September next, and that the Speaker of the Houſe be directed, in a letter to the Speakers of the Houſes of Burgeſſes or Repreſentatives in the ſeveral Colonies, to inform them of the ſubſtance of theſe Reſolves.

SAMUEL ADAMS, *Clerk.*

RHODE-ISLAND. } *By the Hon. JOSEPH WANTON, Eſq; Governour, Captain General and Commander in Chief of and over the Engliſh Colony of Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America.*

To the Hon. STEPHEN HOPKINS, Eſq; and the Hon. SAMUEL WARD, Eſq; greeting.

WHEREAS the General Aſſembly of the Colony aforeſaid have nominated and appointed you the ſaid STEPHEN HOPKINS and SAMUEL WARD to repreſent the People of this Colony in a General Congreſs of Repreſentatives from this and the other Colonies, at ſuch time and place as ſhould be agreed upon by the major part of the Committees appointed or to be appointed by the Colonies in general, I do therefore hereby authorize, impower and commiſſionate you the ſaid STEPHEN HOPKINS and SAMUEL WARD to repair to the City of Philadelphia, it being the place agreed upon by the major part of the Colonies, and there, in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the Commiſſioners or Delegates from the other Colonies, in conſulting upon proper meaſures to obtain a repeal of the ſeveral acts of the Britiſh Parliament for levying taxes upon his Majeſty's Subjects in America, without their conſent, and particularly an Act lately paſſed for blocking up the Port of Boſton, and upon proper meaſures to eſtabliſh the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies upon a juſt and ſolid foundation, agreeable to the inſtructions given you by the General Aſſembly.

[L. S.] Given under my Hand and the Seal of the ſaid Colony this 10th Day of Auguſt, in the Year of our Lord 1774, and the 14th of the Reign of his moſt Sacred Majeſty George the Third by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, &c.

J. WANTON.

By his Honour's Command,
HENRY WARD, *Secretary.*

CONNECTICUT. } In the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the Colony of Connecticut, June 3d, 1774.

WHEREAS a Congreſs of Commiſſioners from the ſeveral Britiſh Colonies in America is propoſed by ſome of our neighbouring Colonies, and thought neceſſary, and whereas it may be found expedient that ſuch Congreſs ſhould be convened before the next Seſſions of this Aſſembly,

Reſolved by this Houſe, That the Committee of Correſpondence be and they are hereby impowered, on application to them made, or from time to time, as may be found neceſſary, to appoint a ſuitable number to attend ſuch Congreſs or Convention of Commiſſioners, or Committees of the ſeveral Colonies in Britiſh America, and the Perſons thus to be choſen ſhall be and they are hereby directed, in behalf of this Colony, to attend ſuch Congreſs, to conſult and adviſe on proper meaſures for advancing the beſt Good of the Colonies, and ſuch conferences, from time to time to report to this Houſe.

A true Extract and Copy from the Journal of the Houſe.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Clerk.*

Colony of CONNECTICUT, ſſ.

NEW-LONDON, *July* 13th. 1774.

AT a meeting of the committee of correſpondence for this colony,
The Hon. *Ebenezer Silliman*, Eſq; in the chair.

THE Hon. ELIPHALET DYER, the Hon. WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, ERASTUS WOLCOTT, SILAS DEANE andRICHARD LAW, Eſqrs. were nominated, purſuant tothe act of the Hon. Houſe of Repreſentatives of the ſaid colony, at their ſeſſions in May laſt, either three of which are hereby authorized and empowered, in behalf of this colony, to attend the general Congreſs of the colonies, propoſed to be held at Philadelphia, on the firſt day of September next, or at ſuch other time and place as ſhall be agreed on by the colonies, to conſult and adviſe with the commiſſioners or committees of the ſeveral Engliſh colonies in America, on proper meaſures for advancing the beſt good of the colonies.

Signed, *Ebenezer Silliman, William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Eraſtus Wolcott, Joſeph Trumbull, Samuel H. Parſons, Nathaniel Wale, junr. Silas Deane.*

HARTFORD, *Auguſt* 1774.

AT a meeting of the committee of correſpondence for this colony.
Eraſtus Wolcott, chairman.

THE Hon. WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, ERASTUS WOLCOTT, and RICHARD LAW, Eſqrs. nominated by this committee at New-London, on the 13th of July laſt, as perſons proper to attend the general Congreſs, to be held at Philadelphia, on the firſt of September next, as by ſaid appointment, being unable by reaſon of previous engagements and the ſtate of their health, to attend ſaid Congreſs, on behalf of this colony, the Hon. ROGER SHERMAN, and JOSEPH TRUMBULL, Eſqrs. were nominated in the place of the aforeſaid gentlemen, as perſons proper to attend ſaid Congreſs, in behalf of this colony, either of which are impowered, with the Hon. ELIPHALET DYER and SILAS DEANE Eſqrs. for that purpoſe.

Signed, *William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Joſeph Trumbull, Nathaniel Wale, junr. Samuel H. Parſons, Samuel Biſhop.*

NEW-YORK. BY duly certified polls, taken by proper perſons in ſeven wards. it appears, that JAMES DUANE, JOHN JAY, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, ISAAC LOW, and JOHN ALSOP, Eſqrs. were elected as delegates for the city and county of New-York. to attend the Congreſs at Philadelphia. the firſt day of September next; and at a meeting of the committees of ſeveral diſtricts in the county of Weſt-Cheſter. the ſame gentlemen were appointed to repreſent that county: Alſo. by a letter from Jacob Lanſing, junr chairman in behalf of the committee for Albany it appears that that city and county had adopted the ſame for their delegates.

By another letter it appears, that the committee from the ſeveral diſtricts in the county of Dutcheſs, had likewiſe, adopted the ſame as delegates, to repreſent that county in Congreſs, and that committees of other towns approve of them as their delegates.

By a writing duly atteſted it appears, the county of Suffolk, in the colony of New-York, have appointed Colonel WILLIAM FLOYD, to repreſent them in Congreſs.

NEW-JERSEY. To JAMES KINSEY, WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, JOHN DEHART, STEPHEN CRANE, and RICHARD SMITH, Eſqrs. each and every of you,

THE committees, appointed by the ſeveral counties of the colony of New-Jerſey, to nominate deputies, to repreſent the ſame in general Congreſs of deputies, from the other colonies in America, convened at the city of New-Brunſwick, have nominated and appointed, and do hereby nominate and appoint you, and each of you, deputies, to repreſent the colony of New-Jerſey, in the ſaid general Congreſs. In teſtimony whereof, the chairman of the ſaid ſeveral committees here met, have hereunto ſet their hands, this twenty-third day of July, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord King George the Third, and in the year of our Lord, 1774.

Signed, *William P. Smith*, *Jacob Ford*, *John Moores*, *Robert Johnſon*, *Robert Field*, *Robert Friend Price*, *Peter Zabriſkie*, *Samuel Tucker*, *Edward Taylor, Hendrick Fiſher, Archibald Stewart, Thomas Anderſon, Abia Brown, Mark Thompſon.*

PENNSYLVANIA.

Extract from Votes of the Aſſembly.

FRIDAY, *July* 22d. 1774, A. M.

THE committee of the whole houſe taking into their moſt ſerious conſideration, the unfortunate differences which have long ſubſiſted between Great-Britain and the American colonies, and being greatly encreaſed by the operation and effects of divers late acts of the Britiſh parliament.

Reſolved N. C. D. That, there is an abſolute neceſſity that a Congreſs of deputies from the ſeveral colonies be held as ſoon as conveniently may be, to conſult together upon the preſent unhappy ſtate of the colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purpoſes of obtaining redreſs of American grievances, aſcertaining American rights upon the moſt ſolid and conſtitutional principles, and for eſtabliſhing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the welfare and happineſs of both.

Eodem die, P. M.

THE houſe reſumed the conſideration of the reſolve from the committee of the whole houſe, and, after ſome debate thereon, adopting and confirming the ſame, *Reſolved,*

Reſolved, N. C. D. That the Hon. JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Speaker, SAMUEL RHOADS, THOMAS MIFFLIN, CHARLES HUMPHREYS, JOHN MORTON, GEORGE ROSS, and EDWARD BIDDLE, Eſquires, be and they are hereby appointed a committee, on the part of this province, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and that they or any four of them do meet ſuch committees or delegates from the other colonies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their reſpective houſes of repreſentatives, or by convention, or by the provincial or colony committees, at ſuch time and place, as ſhall be generally agreed on by ſuch committees.

The three counties NEW-CASTLE, KENT, and SUSSEX on Delaware.

Auguſt 1. 1774, A. M.

THE repreſentatives of the freemen of the government of the counties of New-Caſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, on Delaware, met at New-Caſtle, in purſuance of circular letters from the ſpeaker of the houſe who was requeſted to write and forward the ſame to the members of aſſembly, by the committees of correſpondence for the ſeveral counties aforeſaid, choſen and appointed for that among other purpoſes, by the freeholders and freemen of the ſaid counties reſpectively: And having choſen a chairman, and read the reſolves of the three reſpective counties, and ſundry letters from the committees of correſpondence along the continent, they unanimouſly entered into the following reſolution viz.

We the repreſentatives aforeſaid, by virtue of the power delegated to us, as aforeſaid, taking into our moſt ſerious conſideration the ſeveral acts of the Britiſh parliament, for reſtraining manufactures in his Majeſty's colonies and plantations in North-America,---for taking away the property of the coloniſts without their participation or conſent,---for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of exciſe into the cuſtoms here,---for the making all revenue cauſes triable without jury, and under the deciſion of a ſingle dependent judge,---for the trial, in England, of perſons accuſed of capital crimes, committed in the colonies---for the ſhutting up the port of Boſton---for new modeling the government of the Maſſachuſſets-Bay, and the operation of the ſame on the property, liberty, and lives of the coloniſts; and alſo conſidering, that the moſt eligible mode of determining upon the premiſes, and of endeavouring to procure relief and redreſs of our grievances, would have been by us aſſembled in a legiſlative capacity, but that as the houſe had adjourned to the 30th day of September next, and it is not to be expected, that his Honour the Governor would call us, by writs of ſummons, on this occaſion, having refuſed to do the like in his other province of Pennſylvania; the next moſt proper method, of anſwering the expectations and deſires of our conſtituents, and of contributing our aid to the general cauſe of America, is to appoint commiſſioners or deputies, in behalf of the people of this government, to meet and act with thoſe, appointed by the other provinces, in general Congreſs; and we do therefore, unanimouſly nominate and appoint

point Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean and George Read, Eſqrs. or any two of them, deputies, on the part and behalf of this government, in a general continental Congreſs, propoſed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the firſt Monday, in September next, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on, then and there, to conſult and adviſe with the deputies from the other colonies, and to determine upon all ſuch prudent and lawful meaſures, as may be judged moſt expedient for the colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppreſſed people, and the redreſs of our general grievances.

Signed, by order of the convention,

Cæſar Rodney, Chairman.

Maryland. At a meeting of the committees appointed by the ſeveral counties of the province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, the 22d day of June, 1774. and continued, by adjournment, from day to day, till the 25th of the ſame month.

Matthew Tilghman, Eſq; in the chair.
John Duckett, clerk.

Reſolved. That Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, junr. Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, and Samuel Chase, Eſqrs. or any two or more of them. be deputies for this province, to attend a general Congreſs of deputies from the colonies, at ſuch time and place as may be agreed on, to effect one general plan of conduct, operating on the commercial connection of the colonies with the mother country, for the relief of Boſton, and preſervation of American liberty.

VIRGINIA. MONDAY, the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord, 1774. At a general meeting of delegates from the different counties in this colony, convened in the city of Williamſburgh, to take under their conſideration the preſent critical and alarming ſituation of the continent of North-America.

Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Eſq; in the chair.

IT was unanimouſly *Reſolved*. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it will be highly conducive to the ſecurity and happineſs of the Britiſh empire, that a general Congreſs of deputies from all the colonies, aſſemble as ſoon as the nature of their ſituations will admit, to conſider of the moſt proper and effectual manner, of ſo operating on the commercial connection of the colonies with the mother-country. as to procure redreſs for the much injured province of Maſſachuſſets-Bay. to ſecure Britiſh America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and ſpeedily to procure the return of that harmony and union ſo beneficial to the whole empire, and ſo ardently deſired by all Britiſh America.

FRIDAY, *Auguſt* 5th. 1774.

THE meeting proceeded to the choice of delegates, to repreſent this colony in general Congreſs, when the honorable PEYTON RANDOLPH, RICHARD HENRY LEE, GEORGE WASHINGTON, PATRICK HENRY, RICHARD BLAND, BENJAMIN HARRISON, and EDMUND PENDLETON, Eſquires, were appointed for that purpoſe.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

In the Commons Houſe of Aſſembly, Tueſday the 2d day of *Auguſt*, 1774,

COLONEL POWELL acquainted the houſe, that during the receſs of this houſe, *viz.* on the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth days of July laſt, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of this colony, they having under conſideration the acts of parliament lately paſſed with regard to the port of Boſton and colony of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, as well as other American grievances, had nominated and appointed the honorable Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Chriſtopher Gadſden, and Edward Rutledge, Eſqrs; deputies on the part and behalf of this colony, to meet the deputies of the other colonies of North-America, in general congreſs, the firſt monday in September next at Philadelphia, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, there to conſider the acts lately paſſed, and bills depending in parliament with regard to the port of Boſton and colony of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, which acts and bills in the precedent and conſequences, affect the whole continent of America—alſo the greivances under which America labours, by reaſon of th ſeveral acts of parliament, that impoſe tax or duties for raiſing a revenue, and lay un neceſſary reſtraints and burdens on trade.— And of the ſtatutes, parliamentary acts, an royal inſtructions, which make an invidiou diſtinction between his Majeſty's ſubjects i Great-Britain and America, with full powe and authority to concert, agree to, and effec tually proſecute ſuch legal meaſures, as in th opinion of the ſaid deputies, and of the de puties ſo to be aſſembled, ſhall be moſt likel to obtain a repeal of the ſaid acts, and a re dreſs of thoſe grievances: And thereupo moved that this houſe do reſolve to recognize ratify, and confirm the ſaid appointment o the deputies for the purpoſes aforeſaid.

Reſolved, N. C. D. THAT this houſe do re cognize, ratify, and confirm the appointmen of the ſaid deputies for the purpoſes menti oned in the ſaid motion.

Atteſted. THOMAS FARR, jun. *Clerk*

TUESDAY, *September* 6, 1774, A. M.

The CONGRESS met according to adjournment.

Preſent. THE ſame members as yeſterday, and moreover from the colony of Virginia, Richard Henry Lee, eſquire.

THE Congreſs reſuming the conſideration of rules of conduct to be obſerved in debating and determining queſtions, that come under conſideration.

Reſolved, THAT in determining queſtions in this congreſs, each colony or province ſhall have one vote.—The Congreſs not being poſſeſſed of, or at preſent able to procure proper materials for aſcertaining the importance of each colony.

Reſolved, THAT no perſon ſhall ſpeak more than twice on the ſame point, without leave of the Congreſs.

Reſolved, THAT no queſtion ſhall be determined the day, on which it is agitated and debated, if any one of the colonies deſire the determination to be poſtponed to another day.

Reſolved, THAT the door be kept ſhut during the time of buſineſs, and that the members conſider themſelves under the ſtrongeſt obligations of honor, to keep the proceedings ſecret, until the majority ſhall direct them to be made publick.

Reſolved, THAT a committee be appointed to ſtate the rights of the colonies in general, the ſeveral inſtances in which thoſe rights are violated or infringed, and the means moſt proper to be purſued for obtaining a reſtoration of them.

Ordered, THAT the appointment of the committee, and the number of which it ſhall conſiſt, be deferred until to-morrow.

Reſolved, THAT a committee be appointed to examine and report the ſeveral ſtatutes, which affect the trade and manufactures of the colonies.

SAME order as above reſpecting the appointment and number of this committee.

Reſolved, THAT the reverend Mr. Duché be deſired to open the Congreſs to-morrow morning with prayers, at the Carpenter's-Hall at nine o'clock.

THOMAS JOHNSON, jun. eſq; one of the delegates from Maryland, attended and took his ſeat.

EXTRACT from the minutes of the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, dated Auguſt 31ſt, 1774.—directed to the preſident, was read, as follows:

"Upon motion ordered,

"THAT the librarian furniſh the gentlemen, who are to meet in Congreſs, with the uſe of ſuch books as they may have occaſion for, during their ſitting, taking a receipt for them.

Signed by order of the directors,

William Attmore, *Sec.*"

Ordered,

THAT the thanks of the Congreſs be returned to the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, for their obliging order.

Adjourned 'til nine o'clock to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, *September* 7, 1774, A. M.

AGREEABLE to the reſolve of yeſterday, the meeting was opened with prayers by the reverend Mr. Duché.

Voted, THAT the thanks of the Congreſs be given to Mr. Duché, by Mr. Cuſhing and Mr. Ward, for performing divine ſervice, and for the excellent prayer, which he compoſed and delivered on the occaſion.

THE Congreſs taking into conſideration the appointment of the committees, a vote was taken on the number of which the firſt committee ſhould conſiſt, and by a great majority, reſolved that it conſiſt of two from each of the colonies, as follows:

From *Newhampſhire*,
Major John Sullivan, and Col. Folſom.
Maſſachuſetts-Bay,
Mr. Samuel Adams, and Mr. John Adams.
Rhode-Iſland,
Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Ward.
Connecticut,
Colonel Dyer, and Mr. Sherman.
New-York,
Mr. James Duane, and Mr. John Jay.
New-Jerſey,
Mr. Livingſton, and Mr. Dehart.
Pennſylvania,
Mr. Joſeph Galloway, and Mr. Edward Biddle.

Delaware Government,
Mr. Cæſar Rodney, and Mr. M^{c} Kean.
Maryland,
Mr. Thomas Johnſon, and Mr. Goldſborough.
Virginia,
Mr. Lee, and Mr. Pendleton.
South-Carolina,
Mr. Lynch, and Mr. J. Rutledge.

Agreed that the ſecond committee conſiſt of one choſen from each colony, as follows:

Newhampſhire,	Mr. Sullivan.
Maſſachuſetts-Bay,	Mr. Cuſhing.
Rhode-Iſland,	Mr. Hopkins.
Connecticut,	Mr. Deane.
New-York,	Mr. Low.
New-Jerſey,	Mr. Kinſey.
Pennſylvania,	Mr. Mifflin.
Delaware Government,	Mr. Read.
Maryland,	Mr. Chaſe.
Virginia,	Mr. Henry.
South-Carolina,	Mr. Gadſden.

Ordered, That Iſaac Lefevre, and James Lynch, be employed as door keepers and meſſengers to this Congreſs.

Reſolved, That the preſident may adjourn the Congreſs from day to day, when he finds there is no buſineſs prepared to be laid before them, and may, when he finds it neceſſary, call them together before the time to which they may ſtand adjourned.

Adjourned 'till to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

THE preſident, agreeable to the reſolve of the ſeventh inſtant, adjourned the Congreſs from day to day 'till

MONDAY, *September* 12, 1774.

The CONGRESS met.

MATTHEW TILGHMAN, eſq; one of the delegates from Maryland, appeared and took his ſeat.

No buſineſs being prepared for the Congreſs, the preſident adjourned it 'till tueſday, and from tueſday 'till wedneſday.

WEDNESDAY, *September* 14, 1774, A. M.

WILLIAM HOOPER and JOSEPH HEWES, Eſquires, two of the deputies from North-Carolina, attended the Congreſs, and produced their credentials, as follows:

North-Carolina, AT a general meeting of deputies of the inhabitants of this province, Newbern, the 25th day of Auguſt, 1774.

Reſolved, THAT we approve of the propoſal of a General Congreſs, to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the twentieth day of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the preſent ſtate of Britiſh America, and to take ſuch meaſures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpoſe of deſcribing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breach made in thoſe rights, and for guarding them for the future from any ſuch violations done under the ſanction of public authority.

Reſolved, That WILLIAM HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, and RICHARD CASWELL, Eſquires, and every of them be Deputies to attend ſuch Congreſs, and they are hereby inveſted with ſuch powers, as may make any acts done by them or conſent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon every inhabitant hereof, who is not an alien to his country's good and an apoſtate to the liberties of America.

Signed, JOHN HERVEY, *Moderator.*
Atteſted, Andrew Knox, *Clerk.*

The above being read and approved, the Deputies took their ſeats.

HENRY WISNER, a Delegate from the county of Orange, in the Colony of New-York, appeared at Congreſs, and produced a certificate of his election by the ſaid county, which being read and approved, he took his ſeat in Congreſs as a Deputy for the Colony of New-York.

GEORGE ROSS, one of the Delegates for the Province of Pennſylvania, and JOHN ALSOP, Eſq; one of the Delegates for the Colony of New-York, New-York, appeared and took their ſeats Congreſs.

Ordered, THAT *William Hooper* and *Joſeph Hewes*, Eſqrs; from North-Carolina, be added to the Committee appointed to ſtate the rights of the Colonies.

Ordered, THAT *William Hooper*, Eſq; be one of the Committee appointed to report the ſtatutes, which affect the trade, &c. of the Colonies.

THE Delegates from the province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, agreeable to a requeſt from the joint Committees of every town and diſtrict in the county of Middleſex, in the ſaid province, communicated to the Congreſs the Proceedings of thoſe Committees at Concord, on the 30th and 31ſt days of Auguſt laſt, which were read.

Adjourned 'til to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

No buſineſs being prepared, the Congreſs was adjourned from day to day, 'til Saturday morning, at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, September 17, 1774, A. M.

The Congreſs met according to adjournment.

RICHARD CASWELL, Eſq; one of the Deputies from North-Carolina, appeared, and took his ſeat in Congreſs.

THE reſolutions entered into by the Delegates from the ſeveral towns and diſtricts in the county of Suffolk, in the Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, on Tueſday the 6th of September, and their addreſs to his Excellency Governor Gage, dated the 9th, were laid before the Congreſs, and are as follows.——

At a meeting of the Delegates of every town and diſtrict in the county of Suffolk, on Tueſday the 6th of September, at the houſe of Mr. Richard Woodward, of Deadham, and by adjournment at the houſe of Mr. —— Voſe, of Milton, on Friday the 9th inſtant, *Joſeph Palmer*, Eſq; being choſen Moderator, and *William Thompſon*, Eſq; Clerk, a Committee was choſen to bring in a report to the convention, and the following being ſeveral times read, and put paragraph by paragraph, was unanimouſly voted, viz.

WHEREAS the power but not the juſtice, the vengeance but not the wiſdom of Great-Britain, which of old perſecuted, ſcourged, and excited our fugitive parents from their native ſhores, now purſues us their guiltleſs children with unrelenting ſeverity: And whereas this then ſavage and uncultivated deſart was purchaſed by the toil and treaſure, or acquired by the blood and valour of thoſe our venerable progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dear bought inheritance, to our care and protection they conſigned it, and the moſt ſacred obligations are upon us to tranſmit the glorious obligations unfettered by power, unclogged with ſhackles, to our innocent and beloved offſpring! On the fortitude, on the wiſdom and on the exertions of this important day, is ſuſpended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions. If a boundleſs extent of continent, ſwarming with millions, will tamely ſubmit to live, move and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious miniſter, they baſely yield to voluntary ſlavery, and future generations ſhall load their memories with inceſſant execrations —On the other hand, if we arreſt the hand which would ranſack our pockets, if we diſarm the parricide which points the dagger to our Boſoms, if we nobly defeat that fatal edict which proclaims a power to frame laws for us in all caſes whatſoever, thereby entailing the endleſs and numberleſs curſes of ſlavery upon us, our heirs and their heirs forever; if we ſucceſsfully reſiſt that unparalleled uſurpation of unconſtitutional power whereby our capital is robbed of the means of life; whereby the ſtreets of Boſton are thronged with military executioners; whereby our coaſts are lined and harbours crouded with ſhips of war; whereby the Charter of the Colony, that ſacred barrier againſt the encroachments of Tyranny, is mutilated and in effect annihilated; whereby a murderous law is framed to ſhelter villains from the hands of juſtice; whereby the unalienable and ineſtimable inheritance, which we derived from nature, the conſtitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the charter of the province, is totally wrecked, annulled, and vacated, poſterity will acknowledge that virtue which preſerved them free and happy; and while we enjoy the rewards and bleſſings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyriſts will roll our reputations to that lateſt period, when the ſtreams of time ſhall be abſorbed in the abyſs of eternity——Therefore we have reſolved, and do RESOLVE,

1. THAT whereas his Majeſty George the Third is the rightful ſucceſſor to the throne of Great-Britain, and juſtly entitled to the allegiance of the Britiſh realm, and agreeable to compact, of the Engliſh Colonies in America—therefore, we the heirs and ſucceſſors of the firſt planters of this colony do chearfully acknowledge the ſaid George the third to be our rightful Sovereign, and that ſaid covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and ſubmiſſion.

2. THAT it is an indiſpenſible duty which we owe to God, our country, ourſelves and poſterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power to maintain, defend and preſerve thoſe civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

3. THAT the late acts of the Britiſh Parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boſton, for altering the eſtabliſhed form of government in this colony, and for ſcreening the moſt flagitious violators of the laws of the province from a legal trial, are groſs infractions of thoſe

rights to which we are juſtly entitled by the laws of nature, the Britiſh conſtitution, and the Charter of the province.

4. THAT no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts abovementioned, but that they be rejected as the attempts of a wicked adminiſtration to enſlave America.

5. THAT ſo long as the Juſtices of our Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Aſſize, &c. and Inferior Court of Common Pleas in this county are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the Charter and the Laws of the Province direct, they muſt be conſidered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconſtitutional officers, and as ſuch no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this county.

6. THAT if the Juſtices of the Superior Court of Judicature, Aſſize, &c. Juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas, or of the General Seſſions of the Peace, ſhall ſit and act during their preſent diſqualified ſtate, this county will ſupport and bear harmleſs all Sheriffs and their deputies, Conſtables, Jurors and other officers, who ſhall refuſe to carry into execution the orders of ſaid Courts; and as far as poſſible to prevent the many inconveniencies which muſt be occaſioned by a ſuſpenſion of the Courts of Juſtice, we do moſt earneſtly recommend it to all creditors that they ſhew all reaſonable and even ge-

nerous forbearance to their debtors, and to all debtors, to pay their juſt debts with all poſſible ſpeed, and if any diſputes relative to debts or treſpaſſes ſhall ariſe, which cannot be ſettled by the parties, we recommend it to them to ſubmit all ſuch cauſes to arbitration, and it is our opinion that the contending parties or either of them, who ſhall refuſe ſo to do, ought to be conſidered as co-operating with the enemies of this country.

7. THAT it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, Conſtables and all other officers, who have public monies in their hands, to retain the ſame and not to make any payment thereof to the provincial county treaſurer until the civil government of the province is placed upon a conſtitutional foundation, or until it ſhall otherwiſe be ordered by the propoſed provincial Congreſs.

8. THAT the perſons who have accepted ſeats at the Council Board, by virtue of a mandamus from the King, in conformity to the late act of the Britiſh Parliament, entitled an act for the regulating the government of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and juſt offence to this people. therefore reſolved, that this county do recommend it to all perſons, who have ſo highly offended by accepting ſaid departments, and have not already publickly reſigned their ſeats at the Council Board, to make public reſignations

of their places at ſaid Board, on or before the 20th day of this inſtant, September; and that all perſons refuſing ſo to do ſhall, from and after ſaid day, be conſidered by this county as obſtinate and incorrigible enemies to this country.

9. THAT the fortifications begun and now carrying on upon Boſton Neck, are juſtly alarming to this county, and gives us reaſon to apprehend ſome hoſtile intention againſt that town, more eſpecially as the Commander in Chief has in a very extraordinary manner removed the powder from the magazine at Charleſtown, and has alſo forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boſton, to deliver out to the owners the powder, which they had lodged in ſaid magazine.

10. THAT the late act of Parliament for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws in that extenſive country now called Quebec, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Proteſtant religion and to the civil rights and liberties of all America; and therefore as men and proteſtant Chriſtians, we are indiſpenſably obliged to take all proper meaſures for our ſecurity.

11. THAT whereas our enemies have flattered themſelves that they ſhall make an eaſy prey of this numerous, brave and hardy people, from an apprehenſion that they are unacquainted with military diſcipline, we therefore for the honor, defence and ſecurity of this county and province adviſe

ſtivife, as it has been recommended to take away all commiſſions from the officers of the militia, that thoſe who now hold commiſſions, or ſuch other perſons be elected in each town as officers in the militia, as ſhall be judged of ſufficient capacity for that purpoſe, and who have evidenced themſelves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of thoſe towns and diſtricts, who are qualified, do uſe their utmoſt diligence to acquaint themſelves with the art of war as ſoon as poſſible, and do for that purpoſe appear under arms at leaſt once every week.

12. THAT during the preſent hoſtile appearances on the part of Great-Britain, notwithſtanding the many inſults and oppreſſions which we moſt ſenſibly reſent, yet, nevertheleſs from our affection to his Majeſty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defenſive, ſo long as ſuch conduct may be vindicated by reaſon and the principles of ſelf-preſervation, but no longer.

13. THAT as we underſtand it has been in contemplation to apprehend ſundry perſons of this county, who have rendered themſelves conſpicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen, we do recommend, ſhould ſuch an audacious meaſure be put in practice, to ſeize and keep in ſafe cuſtody, every ſervant of the preſent tyrannical and unconſtitutional government throughout the county and province, until the perſons ſo apprehended

ed be liberated from the hands of our adverſaries, and reſtored ſafe and uninjured to their reſpective friends and families.

14. THAT until our rights are fully reſtored to us, we will, to the utmoſt of our power and we recommend the ſame to the other counties, withhold all commercial intercourſe with Great-Britain, Ireland and the Weſt-Indies, and abſtain from the conſumption of Britiſh merchandize and manufactures, and eſpecially of Eaſt-India Teas and piece goods, with ſuch additions, alterations and exceptions only, as the *General Congreſs* of the Colonies may agree to.

15. THAT under our preſent circumſtances it is encumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures among us by all means in our power, and that
be and are hereby appointed a Committee to conſider of the beſt ways and means to promote and eſtabliſh the ſame, and to report to this Convention as ſoon as may be.

16. THAT the exigencies of our public affairs demand that a provincial Congreſs be called to conſult ſuch meaſures as may be adopted, and vigorouſly executed by the whole people; and we do recommend it to the ſeveral towns in this county, to choſe members for ſuch a provincial Congreſs, to be holden at Concord on the ſecond Tueſday of October next enſuing.

17. THAT this county confiding in the wiſdom and integrity of the continental Congreſs, now ſitting at Philadelphia, pay all due reſpect and ſubmiſſion to ſuch meaſures as may be recommended by them to the colonies, for the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of their juſt rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great-Britain and the colonies ſo earneſtly wiſhed for by all good men.

18. THAT whereas the univerſal uneaſineſs which prevails among all orders of men, ariſing from the wicked and oppreſſive meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration, may influence ſome unthinking perſons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all perſons of this community not to engage in any routs, riots, or licentious attacks upon the properties of any perſon whatſoever, as being ſubverſive of all order and government; but by a ſteady, manly, uniform and perſevering oppoſition to convince our enemies that in a conteſt ſo important, in a cauſe ſo ſolemn, our conduct ſhall be ſuch as to merit the approbation of the wiſe, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country.

19. THAT ſhould our enemies, by any ſudden manœuvres, render it neceſſary to aſk the aid and aſſiſtance of our brethren in the country, ſome one of the Committee of Correſpondence, or a Select Man of ſuch town or the town adjoining, where ſuch hoſtilities ſhall commence or ſhall be expected to commence, ſhall diſpatch

couriers with written meſſages to the Select Men or Committees of Correſpondence, of the ſeveral towns in the vicinity, with a written account of ſuch matter, who ſhall diſpatch others to Committees more remote, untill proper and ſufficient aſſiſtance be obtained, and that the expence of ſaid couriers be defrayed by the county, until it ſhall be otherwiſe ordered by the provincial Congreſs.

At a meeting of Delegates from the ſeveral towns and diſtricts in the county of Suffolk, held at Milton on Friday the 9th day of September, 1774.—*Voted*,

That Doctor Joſeph Warren of Boſton, &c. be a Committee to wait on his Excellency the Governor, to inform him that this county are alarmed at the fortifications making on Boſton Neck, and to remonſtrate againſt the ſame, and the repeated inſults offered by the ſoldiery to perſons paſſing and repaſſing into that town, and to confer with him upon thoſe ſubjects.

Atteſt, WILLIAM THOMPSON, Clerk.

To his Excellency THOMAS GAGE, Esquire, *Captain General and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay.*

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

THE county of Suffolk being greatly, and in their opinion juſtly, alarmed at the formidable

dable appearances of hoſtility now threatning his Majeſty's good ſubjects of this county, and more particularly of the town of Boſton, the loyal and faithful capital of this province; beg leave to addreſs your Excellency, and repreſent that the apprehenſions of the people are more particularly increaſed by the dangerous deſign now carrying into execution of repairing and manning the fortification at the ſouth entrance of the town of Boſton, which when compleated may at any time be improved to aggravate the miſeries of that already impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed city, by intercepting the wanted and neceſſary intercourſe between the town and country, and compel the wretched inhabitants to the moſt ignominious ſtate of humiliation and vaſſalage, by depriving them of the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſion for which they are chiefly dependant on that communication: We have been informed that your Excellency in conſequence of the application of the Select-Men of Boſton, has indeed diſavowed any intention to injure the town in your preſent manœuvres, and expreſſed your purpoſe to be for the ſecurity of the troops and his Majeſty's ſubjects in the town, we are at a loſs to gueſs, may it pleaſe your Excellency, from whence your want of confidence in the loyal and orderly people of this vicinity could originate; a meaſure ſo formidable carried into execution from a pre-conceived though cauſeleſs jealouſy of the inſecurity of his Majeſty's troops and ſubjects in the town, deeply wounds the loyalty and is an additional injury to the faithful ſubjects of this county and affords them a ſtrong motive for this application: we therefore intreat your Excellency to deſiſt from your deſign, aſſuring your Excellency that the people of this county are by no means diſpoſed to injure his Majeſty's troops; they think themſelves aggrieved and oppreſſed by the late Acts of Parliament, and are reſolved by divine aſſiſtance, never to ſubmit to them, but have no inclination to commence a war with his Majeſty's troops, and beg leave to obſerve to your Excellency, that the ferment now excited in the minds of the people is occaſioned by ſome late tranſactions, by ſeizing the powder in the arſenal at Charles-Town, by witholding the powder lodged in the magazine of the town of Boſton from the legal proprietors, inſulting, beating and abuſing paſſengers to and from the town by the ſoldiery, in which they have been encouraged by ſome of their officers, putting the people in fear, and menacing them in their nightly patrole into the neighbouring towns, and more particularly by the fortifying the ſole avenue by land to the town of Boſton.

In duty therefore to his Majeſty and to your Excellency and for the reſtoration of order and ſecurity to this county, we the Delegates from the ſeveral towns in this county, being commiſſioned for this purpoſe, beg your Excellency's attention to this our humble and faithful Addreſs, aſſuring you that nothing leſs than an immediate removal of the ordnance, and reſtoring the entrance into the town to its former ſtate, and an effectual ſtop of all inſults and abuſes in future, can place the inhabitants of this county in that ſtate of peace and tranquillity in which every free ſubject ought to be.

His Excellency was waited on to know if he would receive the committee with the above written addreſs, but deſiring he might have a copy of it in a private way, that ſo when he received it from the committee he might have an anſwer prepared for them, he was accordingly furniſhed with a copy, his Excellency then declared that he would receive the committee on Monday at 12 o'clock.

SATURDAY *September* 10, 1774.

THE Congreſs taking the foregoing into conſideration,

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT this aſſembly deeply feels the ſuffering of their countrymen in the Maſſachuſetts Bay, under the operation of the late unjuſt, cruel and oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh Parliament—that they moſt thoroughly approve the wiſdom and fortitude, with which oppoſition to theſe wicked miniſterial meaſures has hitherto been conducted, and they earneſtly recommend to their brethren a perſeverance in the ſame firm and temperate conduct, as expreſſed in the reſolutions determined upon at a meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk, on Tueſday the 6th inſtant, truſting that the effect of the united efforts of North America, in their behalf, will carry ſuch conviction to the Britiſh nation of the unwiſe, unjuſt and ruinous policy of the preſent adminiſtration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiſer meaſures.

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT contributions from all the colonies for ſupplying the neceſſities and alleviating the diſtreſſes of our brethren at Boſton ought to be continued, in ſuch manner and ſo long as their occaſions may require.

Ordered, THAT a copy of the above reſolutions be tranſmitted to Boſton by the Preſident.

Ordered, THAT theſe reſolutions together with the reſolutions of the county of Suffolk be publiſhed in the news papers.

THE committee appointed to examine and report the ſeveral ſtatutes, which affect the trade and manufactures of the colonies, brought in their report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Adjourned till Monday morning.

MONDAY *September* 19, 1774, A. M.

THE Congreſs met according to adjournment.

THE report brought in on Saturday being read,

Ordered, THAT the ſame be referred to the committee appointed to ſtate the rights of the colonies, &c. to which committee the Honourable Thomas Cuſhing, Eſq; Patrick Henry, and Thomas Mifflin, Eſqrs. were added.

Adjourned from day to day, till Thurſday.

THURSDAY *September* 22, 1774.

The Congreſs met according to adjournment.

Upon motion,

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT the Congreſs, requeſt the Merchants and others in the ſeveral colonies, not to ſend to Great-Britain any orders for goods, and to direct the execution of all orders already ſent, to be delayed or ſuſpended, until the ſenſe of the Congreſs on the means to be taken, for the preſervation of the liberties of America is made public.

Ordered, THAT this reſolution be made public by hand-bills, and by publiſhing it in the newspapers.

THE Committee appointed to ſtate the rights, &c. of the colonies, having brought in a report of rights, the ſame was read, and the conſideration of it referred till Saturday next.

Ordered, THAT a copy of this report be made out for each colony.

SATURDAY *September* 24, 1774, A. M.

THE Congreſs entered upon the conſideration of the report referred to this day, and after ſome debate, upon motion, *Reſolved*, THAT the Congreſs do confine themſelves, at preſent, to the conſideration of ſuch rights, as have been infringed by Acts of the Britiſh Parliament ſince the year 1763, poſtponing the further conſideration of the general ſtate of American rights to a future day.

HEREUPON the Committee appointed to ſtate the rights &c. brought in a report of the infringements and violations of American rights, which being read—upon motion

Reſolved, THAT the conſideration of this report be referred till Monday, and that the Congreſs in the mean time deliberate on the means moſt proper to be uſed for a reſtoration of our rights.—

AFTER ſome debate on the ſubject the Congreſs adjourned.

MONDAY, *September 26th*, 1774. A. M.

THE Congreſs met according to adjournment.

JOHN HERRING, Eſq; a Deputy from Orange county in the colony of New-York, appeared this morning and took his ſeat as a Delegate for that colony.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the means &c. and after ſeveral hours ſpent thereon, it was referred till to morrow, to which time the Congreſs was adjourned.—

TUESDAY, *September* 27*th*, 1774. A. M.

THE Congreſs met according to adjournment, and reſuming the conſideration of the means moſt proper to be uſed for a reſtoration of American rights,

Reſolved unanimouſly, THAT from and after the firſt day of December next, there be no importation into Britiſh America from Great-Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares or merchandize whatever, or from any other place, of any ſuch goods, wares or merchandizes, as ſhall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland, and that no ſuch goods, wares or merchandizes imported after the ſaid firſt day of December next be uſed or purchaſed.—

Adjourned till to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY being taken up in the conſideration and debates on the means &c. the Congreſs met on Friday 30 Sept. and upon the queſtion

Reſolved, THAT from and after the 10th day of September 1775, the exportation of all merchandize and every commodity whatſoever to Great-Britain, Ireland and the Weſt-Indies ought to ceaſe, unleſs the grievances of America are redreſſed before that time.—

Ordered, THAT Mr. Cuſhing, Mr. Low, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Johnſon be a Coma Committee to bring in a plan for carrying into effect, the non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation reſolved on.—

SATURDAY, *October 1ſt*, 1774.

SIMON BOERUM, Eſq; appeared in Congreſs as a Deputy from King's county in the colony of New-York, and produced the credentials of his election, which being read and approved, he took his ſeat as a Delegate for that colony.

The Congreſs reſuming the conſideration of the means &c. upon motion

Reſolved unanimouſly, THAT a loyal addreſs to his Majeſty be prepared, dutifully requeſting the royal attention to the grievances that alarm and diſtreſs his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in North-America, and entreating his Majeſty's gracious interpoſition for the removal of ſuch grievances, thereby to reſtore between Great-Britain and the colonies that harmony ſo neceſſary to the happineſs of the Britiſh empire, and ſo ardently deſired by all America.

Agreed, THAT Mr. Lee, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Johnſon, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge, be a committee, to prepare an Addreſs to his Majeſty.

MONDAY *October* 3, 1774.

THE Congreſs met, according to adjournment, and after ſome debate, *Reſolved*

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT it be an inſtruction to the committee, who are appointed to draw up an addreſs to the King.—Whereas Parliamentary taxes on America have been laid, on pretence of "defraying the expences of government, and ſupporting the adminiſtration of juſtice and defending, protecting, and ſecuring the colonies."—That they do aſſure his Majeſty, that the colonies have or will make ample proviſion for defraying all the neceſſary expences of ſupporting government, and the due adminiſtration of juſtice in the reſpective colonies; that the militia, if put on a proper footing, would be amply ſufficient for their defence in time of peace, that they are deſirous of putting it on ſuch a footing immediately, and that in caſe of war, the colonies are ready to grant ſupplies for raiſing any further forces that may be neceſſary.

THE remainder of this day and the day following, was taken up in deliberating and debating on matters proper to be contained in the Addreſs to his Majeſty.

WEDNESDAY, *October 5th*, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the ſubject in debate yeſterday, and after ſome time ſpent thereon

Reſolved, THAT the Committee appointed to prepare an Addreſs to his Majeſty, be inſtructed to aſſure his Majeſty, that in caſe the colonies ſhall be reſtored to the ſtate they were in, at the cloſe of the late war, by aboliſhing the ſyſtem of laws and regulations—for raiſing a revenue in America—for extending the powers of Courts of Admiralty—for the trial of perſons beyond ſea for crimes committed in America—for affecting the colony of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay; and for altering the government and extending the limits of Canada, the jealouſies which have been occaſioned by ſuch acts and regulations of Parliament, will be removed and commerce again reſtored.

AN Addreſs from William Goddard to the Congreſs was read and ordered to lie on the table.

THURSDAY, *October 6th*, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the means proper to be uſed for a reſtoration of American rights. During this debate, an expreſs from Boſton arrived with a letter from the Committee of Correſpondence dated the 29th of September, which was laid before the Congreſs.

IN this the committee of correſpondence inform the Congreſs, that they "expected ſome regard would have been paid to the petitions preſented to their Governor, againſt fortifying their town in ſuch a manner as can be accounted for only upon the ſuppoſition, that the town and country are to be treated by the ſoldiery as declared enemies—that the entrenchments upon the Neck are nearly compleated—that cannon are mounted at the entrance of the town—that it is currently reported, that fortifications are to be erected on Corpſehill, Bacon Hill, Fort Hill, &c. ſo that the fortifications, with the ſhips in the harbour may abſolutely command every avenue to the town both by ſea and land---that a number of cannon, the property of a private Gentlemen, were a few days ago ſeized and taken from his wharf by order of the General—that from ſeveral circumſtances mentioned in the letter, there is reaſon to apprehend, that Boſton is to be made and kept a garriſoned town;—that from all they can hear from Britain, adminiſtration is reſolved to do all in their power to force them to a ſubmiſſion—that when the town is incloſed, it is apprehended the inhabitants will be held as hoſtages for the ſubmiſſion of the country, they apply therefore to the Congreſs for advice how to act—that---if the Congreſs advice to quit the town--they obey—if it is judged that by maintaining their ground they can better ſerve the public cauſe, they will not ſhrink from hardſhip and danger—finally, that as the late Acts of Parliament have made it impoſſible that there ſhould be a due adminiſtration of juſtice, and all law therefore muſt be ſuſpended—that as the Governor has by Proclamation prevented the meeting of the General Court—they therefore requeſt the advice of the Congreſs."

Ordered, THAT this letter be taken into conſideration to-morrow morning.

THE Congreſs then reſumed the conſideration of the means &c.

Reſolved, THAT the Committee appointed to prepare the form of an aſſociation, be directed to adopt the following clauſe, viz.—That from and after the firſt day of December next, no molaſſes, coffee or piemento from the Britiſh plantations or from Dominica, or wines from Madeira and the weſtern Iſlands, or foreign indigo be imported into theſe colonies.

FRIDAY, *October 7th*, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the letter from the Committee of Correſpondence in Boſton, and after ſome debate—

Reſolved, THAT a Committee be appointed to prepare a letter to his Excellency General Gage, repreſenting "that the town of Boſton and province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, are conſidered by all America as ſuffering in the common cauſe, for their noble and ſpirited oppoſition to oppreſſive Acts of Parliament calculated to deprive us of our moſt ſacred rights and privileges." -----Expreſſing our concern, that, while the Congreſs are deliberating on the moſt peaceable means for reſtoring American liberty, and that harmony and intercourſe, which ſubſiſted between us and the parent kingdom ſo neceſſary to both, his Excellency, as they are informed, is raiſing fortifications round the town of Boſton, thereby exciting well grounded jealouſies in the minds of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects therein, that he means to cut off all communication between them and their brethren in the country, and reduce them to a ſtate of ſubmiſſion to his will, and that the ſoldiers under his Excellency's command, are frequently violating private property, and offering various inſults to the people, which muſt irritate their minds, and if not put a ſtop to, involve all America in the horrors of a civil war.--- To entreat his Excellency, from the aſſurance we have of the peaceable diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the town of Boſton and the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, to diſcontinue his fortifications, and that a free and ſafe communication be reſtored and continued between the town of Boſton and the country, and prevent all injuries on the part of the troops, until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be known, after the meaſures now adopting ſhall have been laid before him.

Mr. Lynch, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Pendleton are appointed a committee to draught a letter agreeable to the foregoing reſolution.

SATURDAY *October* 8, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the letter from Boſton, and upon motion.

Reſolved, THAT this Congreſs approve the oppoſition of the inhabitants of the Maſſachuſetts

Bay, to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the ſame ſhall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in ſuch caſe, all America ought to ſupport them in their oppoſition.

MONDAY *October* 10, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſuming the conſideration of the letter from Boſton

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT it is the opinion of this body, that the removal of the people of Boſton into the country would be, not only extremely difficult in the execution, but ſo important in its conſequences, as to require the utmoſt deliberation before it is adopted; but in caſe the provincial meeting of that colony ſhould judge it abſolutely neceſſary, it is the opinion of the Congreſs, that all America ought to contribute towards recompencing them for the injury they may thereby ſuſtain, and it will be recommended accordingly.

Reſolved, THAT the Congreſs recommend to the inhabitants of the colony of the Maſſachuſetts Bay to ſubmit to a ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of juſtice, where it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, under the rules of their preſent charter and the laws of the colony founded thereon.

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT every perſon and perſons whatſoever, who ſhall take, accept, or act under any commiſſion or authority, in any wiſe derived from the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, changing the form of Government, and violating the charter of the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, ought to be held in deteſtation and abhorrence by all good men, and conſidered as the wicked tools of that deſpotiſm, which is preparing to deſtroy thoſe rights, which God, nature and compact have given to America.

THE committee brought in a draught of a letter to General Gage, and the ſame being read and amended was ordered to be copied, and to be ſigned by the Preſident in behalf of the Congreſs.

TUESDAY *October* 11, 1774.

A COPY of the letter to General Gage was brought into Congreſs, and agreeable to order ſigned by the Preſident, and is as follows.

Philadelphia, October 10, 1774.

SIR,

"THE inhabitants of the town of Boſton have informed us, the repreſentatives of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in all the colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invaſions of private property, and the repeated inſults they receive from the ſoldiery, have given them great reaſon to ſuſpect a plan is formed very deſtructive to them, and tending to overthrow the liberties of America.

"YOUR Execllency cannot be a ſtranger to the ſentiments of America, with reſpect to the acts of Parliament, under the execution of which thoſe unhappy people are oppreſſed, the approbation univerſally expreſſed of their conduct, and the determined reſolution of the colonies, for the preſervation of their common rights, to unite in their oppoſition to thoſe acts.—In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepeſt concern, that whilſt we are purſuing dutiful and peaceable meaſures to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain and the colonies, your Excellency ſhould proceed in a manner that bears ſo hoſtile an appearance, and which even thoſe oppreſſive acts do not warrant.

"WE entreat your Excellency to conſider, what a tendency this conduct muſt have to irritate and force a free people, hitherto well diſpoſed to peaceable meaſures, into hoſtilities, which may prevent the endeavours of this Congreſs to reſtore a good underſtanding with our parent ſtate, and may involve us in the horrors of a civil war.

"IN order therefore to quiet the minds and remove the reaſonable jealouſies of the people, that they may not be driven to a ſtate of deſperation, being fully perſuaded of their pacific diſpoſition towards the King's troops, could they be aſſured of their own ſafety, we hope, Sir, you will diſcontinue the fortifications in and about Boſton, prevent any further invaſions of private property, reſtrain the irregularities of the ſoldiers, and give orders that the communication between the town and country may be open, unmoleſted and free.

Signed by order and in behalf
Of the general Congreſs,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, Preſident."

As the Congreſs have given General Gage an aſſurance of the peaceable diſpoſition of the people of Boſton and the Maſſachuſetts Bay,

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT they be adviſ'd ſtill to conduct themſelves peaceably towards his Excellency General Gage, and his Majeſty's troops now ſtationed in the town of Boſton, as far as can poſſibly be conſiſtent with their immediate ſafety and the ſecurity of the town, avoiding and diſcountenancing every violation of his Majeſty's property, or any inſult to his troops, and that they peaceably and firmly perſevere in the line they are now conducting themſelves, on the defenſive.

Ordered, THAT a copy of the foregoing reſolve, and of that paſſed on Saturday, and the three paſſed yeſterday be made out, and that the Preſident incloſe them in a letter to the committee of correſpondence for the town of Boſton, being the ſentiments of the Congreſs on the matters referred to them by the committee, in their letter of the 29th of September laſt.

Reſolved unanimouſly,

THAT a memorial be prepared to the people of Britiſh America, ſtating to them the neceſſity of a firm, united, and invariable obſervation of the meaſures recommended by the Congreſs, as they tender the invaluable rights and liberties derived to them from the laws and conſtitution of their country.

ALSO, that an addreſs be prepared to the people of Great-Britain.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Lee, Mr. Livingſton, and Mr. Jay be a Committee to prepare a draught of the memorial and addreſs.

WEDNESDAY *October* 12, 1774.

The Congreſs met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare a plan, for carrying into effect the non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement, brought in a report which was read.

Ordered, THAT the ſame lie on the table for the peruſal of the members.

THE Congreſs then reſumed the conſideration of the rights and grievances of theſe colonies, and after deliberating on the ſubject this and the following day, adjourned till Friday.

FRIDAY *October* 14, 1774.

THE Congreſs met according to adjournment, and reſuming the conſideration of the ſubject under debate—made the following DECLARATION and RESOLVES.

WHEREAS, ſince the cloſe of the laſt war, the Britiſh parliament claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of America by ſtatutes, in all caſes whatſoever, hath in ſome acts expreſsly impoſed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, hath impoſed rates and duties payable in theſe colonies, eſtabliſhed a board of commiſſioners with unconſtitutional powers, and extended the juriſdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the ſaid duties, but for the trial of cauſes merely ariſing within the body of a county.

AND whereas, in conſequence of other ſtatutes, judges, who before held only eſtates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the crown alone for their ſalaries, and ſtanding armies kept, in times of peace: And whereas it has lately been reſolved in parliament, that by force of a ſtatute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the eighth, coloniſts may be tranſported to England and tried there upon accuſations for treaſons and miſpriſions, or concealments of treaſons committed in the colonies; and by a late ſtatute, ſuch trials have been directed in caſes therein mentioned.

AND whereas in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, three ſtatutes were made; one entitled, "An act to diſcontinue in ſuch manner, and "for ſuch time as are therein mentioned, the "landing and diſcharging, lading or ſhipping "of goods, wares and merchandize, at the "town, and within the harbour of Boſton, "in the province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in "North-America." Another entitled, "An "act for the better regulating the govern-"ment of the province of the Maſſachuſetts-"Bay, in New-England." And another entit-"led, An act for the impartial adminiſtration "of juſtice, in the caſes of perſons queſtioned "for any act done by them in the execution "of the law, or for the ſuppreſſion of riots "and tumults, in the province of the Maſſa-"chuſetts-Bay, in New-England." And another ſtatute was then made, "for making "more effectual proviſion for the government "of the province of Quebec, &c." All which ſtatutes are impolitic, unjuſt, and cruel, as well as unconſtitutional, and moſt dangerous and deſtructive of American rights.

AND whereas, aſſemblies have been frequently diſſolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal and reaſonable petitions to the crown for redreſs, have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his Majeſty's miniſters of ſtate.

THE good people of the ſeveral colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, New-Caſtle Kent and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, juſtly alarmed at theſe arbitrary

trary proceedings of parliament and adminiſtration, have ſeverally elected, conſtituted, and appointed deputies to meet and ſit in general congreſs in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain ſuch eſtabliſhment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be ſubverted: Whereupon the deputies ſo appointed being now aſſembled, in a full and free repreſentation of theſe colonies, taking into their moſt ſerious conſideration the beſt means of attaining the ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt place, as Engliſhmen their anceſtors in like caſes have uſually done, for aſſerting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,

THAT the inhabitants of the Engliſh colonies in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the ſeveral charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS.——

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 1. THAT they are entitled to life, liberty, and property: and they have never ceded to any ſovereign power whatever, a right to diſpoſe of either without their conſent.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 2. THAT our anceſtors, who firſt ſettled theſe colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born ſubjects, within the realm of England.

Reſolved, N. C. D. 3. THAT by ſuch emigration they by no means forfeited, ſurrendered, or loſt any of thoſe rights, but that they were, and their deſcendants now are, entitled to the exerciſe and enjoyment of all ſuch of them, as their local and other circumſtances enable them to exerciſe and enjoy.

Reſolved, 4. THAT the foundation of Engliſh liberty and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council: and as the Engliſh coloniſts are not repreſented, and from their local and other circumſtances cannot properly be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, they are entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial Legiſlatures, where their right of repreſentation can alone be preſerved, in all caſes of taxation and internal polity, ſubject only to the negative of their ſovereign, in ſuch manner as has been heretofore uſed and accuſtomed: But from the neceſſity of the caſe, and a regard to the mutual intereſts of both countries, we cheerfully conſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh parliament, as are bona fide, reſtrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its reſpective members, excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raiſing a revenue on the ſubjects in America without their conſent.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 5. THAT the reſpective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more eſpecially to the great and ineſtimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the courſe of that law.

Reſolved, 6. THAT they are entitled to the benefit of ſuch of the Engliſh ſtatutes, as exiſted at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, reſpectively found to be applicable to their ſeveral local and other circumſtances.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 7. THAT theſe, his Majeſty's, colonies are likewiſe entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or ſecured by their ſeveral codes of provincial laws.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 8. THAT they have a right peaceably to aſſemble, conſider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all proſecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the ſame, are illegal.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 9. THAT the keeping a ſtanding army in theſe colonies, in times of peace, without the conſent of the legiſlature of that colony in which ſuch army is kept, is againſt law.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* 10. IT is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to good government, and rendered eſſential by the Engliſh conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exerciſe of legiſlative power in ſeveral colonies, by a council appointed, during pleaſure, by the crown, is unconſtitutional, dangerous, and deſtructive to the freedom of American legiſlation.

All and each of which, the aforeſaid deputies in behalf of themſelves, and their conſtituents, do claim, demand, and inſiſt on, as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own conſent, by their repreſentatives in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures.

In the courſe of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights; which, from an ardent deſire that harmony and mutual intercourſe of affection and intereſt may be reſtored, we paſs over for the preſent, and proceed to ſtate ſuch acts and meaſures as have been adopted ſince the laſt war, which demonſtrate a ſyſtem formed to enſlave America.

Reſolved, *N. C. D.* That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the coloniſts; and that the repeal of them is eſſentially neceſſary, in order to reſtore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies, viz.

THE ſeveral acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5 Geo. III. ch. 25.—6 Geo. III. ch. 52.—7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impoſe duties for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American ſubject of trial by jury, authoriſe the judges certificate to indemnify the proſecutor from damages, that he might otherwiſe be liable to, requiring oppreſſive ſecurity from a claimant of ſhips and goods ſeized, before he ſhall be allowed to defend his property, and are ſubverſive of American rights.

ALSO 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. intituled, " An " Act for the better ſecuring his Majeſty's " dock-yards, magazines, ſhips, ammunition " and ſtores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American ſubject of a conſtitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authoriſing the trial of any perſon charged with the committing any offence deſcribed in the ſaid act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the ſame in any ſhire or county within the realm.

ALSO the three acts paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for ſtopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boſton, for altering the charter and government of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and that which is intituled, " An Act for the better " adminiſtration of juſtice, &c."

ALSO the act paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic Religion in the province of Quebec, aboliſhing the equitable ſyſtem of Engliſh laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, (from ſo total a diſſimularity of religion, law, and government) of the neighbouring Britiſh colonies, by the aſſiſtance of whoſe blood and treaſure the ſaid country was conquered from France.

Also the act paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion for the better providing ſuitable quarters for officers and ſoldiers in his Majeſty's ſervice in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a ſtanding army in ſeveral of theſe colonies, in time of peace, without the conſent of the legiſlature of that colony in which ſuch army is kept, is againſt law.

To theſe grievous acts and meaſures Americans cannot ſubmit, but in hopes their fellow ſubjects in Great-Britain will, on a reviſion of them, reſtore us to that ſtate, in which both countries found happineſs and proſperity, we have for the preſent only reſolved to purſue the following peaceable meaſures; 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement or aſſociation. 2. To prepare an addreſs to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of Britiſh America. And 3. To prepare a loyal addreſs to his Majeſty; agreeable to reſolutions already entered into.

A Letter being received from ſeveral Gentlemen in Georgia was read.---

SATURDAY, *October* 15, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the plan for carrying into effect the non-importation &c. and after ſome time ſpent on that ſubject, adjourned till Monday.—

MONDAY, *October* 17, 1774.

Mr. John Dickinſon appeared in Congreſs as a Deputy for the province of Pennſylvania, and produced his credentials, as follows:

"IN Aſſembly, *October* 15, 1774. A. M.

"UPON motion by Mr. Roſs,

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Dickinſon be and he is "hereby added to the Committee of Deputies "appointed by the late Aſſembly of this pro-"vince, to attend the General Congreſs now "ſitting in the city of Philadelphia on American "grievances.

"By Order of the Houſe, Cha. Moore, Clk. "of the Aſſembly."

THE ſame being approved, Mr. Dickinſon took his ſeat as one of the Deputies for the province of Pennſylvania.

THE Congreſs then reſumed the conſideration of the plan of aſſociation &c. and after ſpending the remainder of the day on that ſubject, adjourned till to-morrow.

TUESDAY, *October* 18, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the plan of aſſociation &c. and after ſundry amendments, the ſame was agreed to and ordered to be tranſcribed, that it may be ſigned by the ſeveral Members.

THE Committee appointed to prepare an addreſs to the people of Great-Britain brought in a draught, which was read and ordered to lie on the table for the peruſal of the Members, and to be taken into conſideration to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 19, 1774.

THE Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the addreſs to the people of Great-Britain, and the ſame being debated by paragraphs and ſundry amendments made, the ſame was recommitted, in order that the amendments may be taken in.

THE Committee appointed to prepare a memorial to the inhabitants of theſe colonies reported a draught, which was read and ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered, That this memorial be taken into conſideration to-morrow.

THURSDAY, *October* 20, 1774.

THE aſſociation being copied, was read and ſigned at the table. And is as follows:—

WE, his Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, the Delegates of the ſeveral Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the Three Lower Counties of Newcaſtle Kent and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to repreſent them in a continental Congreſs held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majeſty, our affection and regard for our fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain and elſewhere, affected with the deepeſt anxiety, and moſt alarming apprehenſions at thoſe grievances and diſtreſſes, with which his Majeſty's American ſubjects are oppreſſed, and having taken under our moſt ſerious deliberation, the ſtate of the whole continent, find, that the preſent unhappy ſituation of our affairs is occaſioned by a ruinous ſyſtem of colony adminiſtration adopted by the Britiſh Miniſtry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for inſlaving theſe Colonies, and, with them, the Britiſh Empire. In proſecution of which ſyſtem, various Acts of Parliament have been paſſed for raiſing a Revenue in America, for depriving the American ſubjects, in many inſtances, of the conſtitutional trial by jury, expoſing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the ſeas, for crimes alledged to have been committed in America: And in proſecution of the ſame ſyſtem, ſeveral late, cruel, and oppreſſive Acts have been paſſed reſpecting the town of Boſton and the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and alſo an Act for extending the province of Quebec, ſo as to border on the weſtern frontiers of theſe Colonies, eſtabliſhing an arbitrary government therein, and diſcouraging the ſettlement of Britiſh ſubjects in that wide extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices to diſpoſe the inhabitants to act with hoſtility againſt the free Proteſtant Colonies, whenever a wicked Miniſtry ſhall chuſe ſo to direct them.

To obtain redreſs of theſe grievances, which threaten deſtruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majeſty's ſubjects in North-America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the moſt ſpeedy, effectual, and peaceable meaſure: And therefore we do, for ourſelves and the inhabitants of the ſeveral Colonies, whom we repreſent, firmly agree and aſſociate under the ſacred ties of virtue, honor and love of our country, as follows.

Firſt. THAT from and after the firſt day of December next, we will not import into Britiſh America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandize whatſoever, or from any other place any ſuch goods, wares or merchandize, as ſhall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that

day,

day, import any Eaſt-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molaſſes, ſyrups, paneles, coffee or piemento, from the Britiſh plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Weſtern Iſlands; nor foreign indigo.

Second. We will neither import, nor purchaſe any ſlave imported after the firſt day of December next; after which time, we will wholly diſcontinue the ſlave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourſelves, nor will we hire our veſſels, nor ſell our commodities or manufactures to thoſe who are concerned in it.

Third. As a non-conſumption agreement, ſtrictly adhered to, will be an effectual ſecurity for the obſervation of the non-importation, we, as above, ſolemnly agree and aſſociate, that, from this day, we will not purchaſe or uſe any Tea imported on account of the Eaſt-India company, or any on which a duty hath been or ſhall be paid; and from and after the firſt day of March next, we will not purchaſe or uſe any Eaſt-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor ſhall any perſon for or under us, purchaſe or uſe any of thoſe goods; wares or merchandize, we have agreed not to import, which we ſhall know, or have cauſe to ſuſpect, were imported after the firſt day of December, except ſuch as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned,

Fourth. The earneſt deſire we have not to injure our fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain, Ireland or the Weſt-Indies, induces us to ſuſpend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September 1775; at which time, if the ſaid Acts and parts of Acts of the Britiſh parliament herein after mentioned are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatſoever to Great-Britain, Ireland or the Weſt-Indies, except rice to Europe.

Fifth. SUCH as are merchants, and uſe the Britiſh and Iriſh trade, will give orders, as ſoon as poſſible, to their factors, agents and correſpondents, in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ſhip any goods to them, on any pretence whatſoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, reſiding in Great-Britain or Ireland, ſhall directly or indirectly ſhip any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the ſaid non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the ſame, on ſuch unworthy conduct being well atteſted, it ought to be made public; and, on the ſame being ſo done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connexion with ſuch merchant.

Sixth. THAT ſuch as are owners of veſſels will give poſitive orders to their captains, or maſters, not to receive on board their veſſels any goods prohibited by the ſaid non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate diſmiſſion from their ſervice.

Seventh. WE will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to improve the breed of ſheep and increaſe their number to the greateſt extent, and to that end, we will kill them as ſparingly as may be, eſpecially thoſe of the moſt profitable kind; nor will we export any to the Weſt-Indies or elſewhere; and thoſe of us, who are or may become overſtocked with, or can conveniently ſpare any ſheep, will diſpoſe of them to our neighbours, eſpecially to the poorer ſort, on moderate terms.

Eighth. We will in our ſeveral ſtations encourage frugality, œconomy, and induſtry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, eſpecially that of wool; and will diſcountenance and diſcourage every ſpecies of extravagance and diſſipation, eſpecially all horſe racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of ſhews, plays, and other expenſive diverſions and entertainments. And on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families will go into any further mourning dreſs than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for Gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for Ladies, and we will diſcontinue the giving of gloves and ſcarfs at funerals.

Ninth. Such as are venders of goods or merchandize will not take advantage of the ſcarcity of goods that may be occaſioned by this aſſociation, but will ſell the ſame at the rates we have been reſpectively accuſtomed to do, for twelve months laſt paſt.—And if any vender of goods or merchandize ſhall ſell any ſuch goods on higher terms, or ſhall in any manner, or by any device whatſoever, violate or depart from this Agreement, no perſon ought, nor will any of us deal with any ſuch perſon, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth. IN caſe any merchant, trader, or other perſons ſhall import any goods or merchandize after the firſt day of December, and before the firſt day of February next, the ſame ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either reſhipped or delivered up to the Committee of the county, or town wherein they ſhall be imported, to be ſtored at the riſque of the importer, until the non-importation Agreement ſhall ceaſe, or be ſold under the direction of the Committee aforeſaid; and in the laſt mentioned caſe, the owner or owners of ſuch goods ſhall be reimburſed (out of the ſales) the firſt coſt and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing ſuch poor inhabitants of the town of Boſton, as are immediate ſufferers by the Boſton Port-Bill; and a particular account of all goods ſo returned, ſtored, or ſold, to be inſerted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes ſhall be imported after the ſaid firſt day of February, the ſame ought forthwith to be ſent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh. THAT a Committee be choſen in every county, city, and town, by thoſe who are qualified to vote for Repreſentatives in the Legiſlature, whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be attentively to obſerve the conduct of all perſons touching this aſſociation; and when it ſhall be made to appear to the ſatisfaction of a majority of any ſuch Committee, that any perſon within the limits of their appointment has violated this aſſociation, that ſuch majority do forthwith cauſe the truth of the caſe to be publiſhed in the Gazette, to the end, that all ſuch foes to the rights of Britiſh America may be publicly known, and univerſally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we reſpectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth. THAT the Committee of Correſpondence in the reſpective Colonies do frequently inſpect the entries of their Cuſtom-Houſes, and inform each other from time to time of the true ſtate thereof, and of every other material circumſtance that may occur relative to this aſſociation.

Thirteenth. THAT all manufactures of this country be ſold at reaſonable prices, ſo that no undue advantage be taken of a future ſcarcity of goods.

Fourteenth. AND we do further agree and reſolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourſe whatſoever, with any colony or province, in North America, which ſhall not accede to, or which ſhall hereafter violate this aſſociation, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

AND we do ſolemnly bind ourſelves and our conſtituents, under the ties aforeſaid, to adhere to this Aſſociation until ſuch parts of the ſeveral Acts of Parliament paſſed ſince the cloſe of the laſt war, as impoſe or continue duties on tea, wine, molaſſes, ſyrups, paneles, coffee, ſugar, piemento, indigo, foreign paper, glaſs, and painters colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the Admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American ſubject of trial by jury, authoriſe the Judge's certificate to indemnify the proſecutor from damages, that he might otherwiſe be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppreſſive ſecurity from a claimant of ſhips or goods ſeized, before he ſhall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed—And until that part of the Act of the 12. G. 3. ch. 24. entitled, " An Act for the better ſecuring his Majeſty's dock yards, magazines, ſhips, ammunition, and ſtores, " by which, any perſons charged with committing any of the offences therein deſcribed, in America, may be tried in any ſhire or county within the realm, is repealed---And until the four Acts paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, viz. that for ſtopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boſton ——That for altering the charter and government of the Maſſachuſett's-Bay—— And that which is entitled, " An Act for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, &c."-------- And that " For extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the reſpective Colonies, to eſtabliſh ſuch farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this Aſſociation.

The foregoing Aſſociation being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be ſubſcribed by the ſeveral Members thereof; and thereupon we have hereunto ſet our reſpective names accordingly.

In Congreſs, Philadelphia, October 24.

Signed,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, *Preſident.*

New Hampſhire.	John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.
Maſſachuſetts-Bay.	Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.
Rhode-Iſland.	Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.
Connecticut.	Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.
New-York.	Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, James Duane, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, S. Boerum, Philip Livingston.
New-Jerſey.	James Kinsey, William Livingston, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith. John De Hart.

Pennſylvania.	JOSEPH GALLOWAY,
	JOHN DICKINSON,
	CHARLES HUMPHREYS,
	THOMAS MIFFLIN,
	EDWARD BIDDLE,
	JOHN MORTON.
	GEORGE ROSS.
New-Caſtle, &c.	CÆSAR RODNEY,
	THOMAS M‘KEAN,
	GEORGE READ.
Maryland.	MATTHEW TILGHMAN,
	THOMAS JOHNSON,
	WILLIAM PACA,
	SAMUEL CHASE.
Virginia.	RICHARD HENRY LEE,
	GEORGE WASHINGTON,
	P. HENRY, Jun.
	RICHARD BLAND,
	BENJAMIN HARRISON,
	EDMUND PENDLETON.
North-Carolina.	WILLIAM HOOPER,
	JOSEPH HEWES,
	R. CASWELL.
South-Carolina.	HENRY MIDDLETON,
	THOMAS LYNCH,
	CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,
	JOHN RUTLEDGE,
	EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

The Congreſs then reſumed the conſideration of the addreſs to the inhabitants of theſe colonies, and after debate thereon, adjourned till to-morrow.—

Friday, *October* 21, 1774.

The addreſs to the people of Great-Britain being brought in, and the amendments directed being made, the ſame was approved and is as follows:

To the PEOPLE *of* GREAT-BRITAIN, *from the* DELEGATES, *appointed by the ſeveral Engliſh Colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, The Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, to conſider of their grievances in* General Congress, *at* Philadelphia, *September 5th,* 1774.

Friends and Fellow Subjects,

WHEN a Nation, led to greatneſs by the hand of Liberty, and poſſeſſed of all the glory that heroiſm, munificence, and humanity can beſtow, deſcends to the ungrateful taſk of forging chains for her Friends and Children, and inſtead of giving ſupport to Freedom, turns advocate for Slavery and Oppreſſion, there is reaſon to ſuſpect ſhe has either ceaſed to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

In almoſt every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, againſt many and powerful nations, againſt the open aſſaults of enemies and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your iſland, your great and glorious anceſtors, maintained their independence and tranſmitted the rights of men and the bleſſings of liberty to you their poſterity.

Be not ſurprized therefore, that we, who are deſcended from the ſame common anceſtors; that we, whoſe forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties and the conſtitution, you ſo juſtly boaſt, and who have carefully conveyed the ſame fair inheritance to us, guarantied by the plighted faith of government and the moſt ſolemn compacts with Britiſh Sovereigns, ſhould refuſe to ſurrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reaſon, and who proſecute them with a deſign, that by having *our* lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enſlave *you*.

The cauſe of America is now the object of univerſal attention: it has at length become very ſerious. This unhappy country has not only been oppreſſed, but abuſed and miſrepreſented; and the duty we owe to ourſelves and poſterity, to your intereſt, and the general welfare of the Britiſh empire, leads us to addreſs you on this very important ſubject.

Know then, That we conſider ourſelves, and do inſiſt, that we are and ought to be, as free as our fellow ſubjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our conſent.

THAT we claim all the benefits ſecured to the ſubject by the Engliſh conſtitution, and particularly that ineſtimable one of trial by jury.

THAT we hold it eſſential to Engliſh Liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or puniſhed for ſuppoſed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence.

THAT we think the Legiſlature of Great-Britain is not authorized by the conſtitution to eſtabliſh a religion fraught with ſanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. Theſe rights we, as well as you, deem ſacred. And yet ſacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

ARE not the Proprietors of the ſoil of Great-Britain Lords of their own property? can it be taken from them without their conſent? will they yield it to the arbitrary diſpoſal of any man, or number of men whatever?---You know they will not.

WHY then are the Proprietors of the ſoil of America leſs Lords of their property than you are of yours, or why ſhould they ſubmit it to the diſpoſal of your Parliament, or any other Parliament, or Council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the ſea that divides us, cauſe diſparity in rights. or can any reaſon be given, why Engliſh ſubjects, who live three thouſand miles from the royal palace, ſhould enjoy leſs liberty than thoſe who are three hundred miles diſtant from it?

REASON looks with indignation on ſuch diſtinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjuſt ſuch diſcriminations are, the Parliament aſſert, that they have a right to bind us in all caſes without exception, whether we conſent or not; that they may take and uſe our property when and in what manner they pleaſe; that we are penſioners on their bounty for all that we enjoy; and can hold it no longer than they vouchſafe to permit. Such declarations we conſider as hereſies in Engliſh politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the Pope can diveſt Kings of ſceptres, which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

AT the concluſion of the late war---a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Miniſter, to whoſe efforts the Britiſh empire owes its ſafety and its fame: At the concluſion of this war, which was ſucceeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auſpices of a Miniſter of principles, and of a family unfriendly to the proteſtant cauſe, and inimical to liberty.-- We ſay at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enſlaving your fellow ſubjects in America was concerted, and has ever ſince been pertinaciouſly carrying into execution.

Prior to this æra you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You reſtrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exerciſed unbounded ſovereignty over the ſea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandize ſhould be carried, and with whom alone we ſhould trade; and though ſome of theſe reſtrictions were grievous, we neverthefeſs did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent ſtate to which we were bound by the ſtrongeſt ties: And were happy in being inſtrumental to your proſperity and your grandeur.

We call upon you yourſelves, to witneſs our loyalty and attachment to the common intereſt of the whole empire: Did we not, in the laſt war, add all the ſtrength of this vaſt continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native ſhores, and meet diſeaſe and death, to promote the ſucceſs of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburſe us large ſums of money, which, you confeſſed, we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what cauſes, then, are we to attribute the ſudden change of treatment, and that ſyſtem of ſlavery which was prepared for us at the reſtoration of peace.

Before we had recovered from the diſtreſſes which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppreſſive Stamp-Act. Paint, Glaſs, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchaſe of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no wine is made in any country, ſubject to the Britiſh ſtate, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, impoſed by your parliament, on all we imported. Theſe and many other impoſitions were laid upon us moſt unjuſtly and unconſtitutionally, for the expreſs purpoſe of raiſing a revenue.---In order to ſilence complaint, it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue ſhould be expended in America for its protection and defence.---Theſe exactions, however, can receive no juſtification from a pretended neceſſity of protecting and defending us. They are laviſhly ſquandered on court favourites and miniſterial dependents, generally avowed enemies to America and employing themſelves, by partial repreſentations, to traduce and embroil the Colonies. For the neceſſary ſupport of government here, we ever were and ever ſhall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the ſtate may require it, we ſhall, as we have heretofore done, chearfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconſtitutional and unjuſt ſcheme of taxation, every fence that the wiſdom of our Britiſh anceſtors had carefully erected againſt arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the ineſtimable right of trial by jury taken away in caſes that touch both life and property.---It was ordained that whenever offences ſhould be committed in the Colonies againſt particular Acts impoſing various duties and reſtrictions upon trade, the proſecutor might bring his action for the penalties in the Courts of Admiralty; by which means the ſubject loſt the advantage of being tried by an honeſt uninfluenced jury of the vicinage, and was ſubjected to the ſad neceſſity of being judged by a ſingle man, a creature of the Crown, and according to the courſe of a law which exempts the proſecutor from the trouble of proving his accuſation, and obliges the defendant either to evince his innocence or to ſuffer. To give this new judicatory the greater importance, and as, if with deſign to protect falſe accuſers, it is further provided, that the Judge's certificate of there having been probable cauſes of ſeizure and proſecution, ſhall protect the proſecutor from actions at common law for recovery of damages.

By the courſe of our law, offences committed in ſuch of the Britiſh dominions in which courts are eſtabliſhed and juſtice duely and regularly adminiſtred, ſhall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. There the offenders and the witneſſes are known, and the degree of credibility to be given to their teſtimony, can be aſcertained.

In all theſe Colonies, juſtice is regularly and impartially adminiſtered, and yet by the conſtruction of ſome, and the direction of other Acts of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all ſuch perſons as may be pointed out as witneſſes, and carried to England, there to be tried in a diſtant land, by a *jury* of ſtrangers, and ſubject to all the diſadvantages that reſult from want of friends, want of witneſſes, and want of money.

When the deſign of raiſing a revenue from the duties impoſed on the importation of tea into America had in great meaſure been rendered abortive by our ceaſing to import that commodity, a ſcheme was concerted by the Miniſtry with the Eaſt India Company, and an Act paſſed enabling and encouraging them to tranſport and vend it in the Colonies. Aware of the danger of giving ſucceſs to this inſidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be eſtabliſhed among us, various methods were adopted to elude the ſtroke. The people of Boſton, then ruled by a Governor, whom, as well as his predeceſſor Sir Francis Bernard, all America conſiders as her enemy, were exceedingly embarraſſed. The ſhips, which had arrived with the tea, were by his management prevented from returning.---The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed and expoſed to ſale; a Governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchaſers. While the town was ſuſpended by deliberations on this important ſubject, the tea was deſtroyed. Even ſuppoſing a treſpaſs was thereby committed, and the Proprietors of the tea entitled to damages.--The Courts of Law were open, and Judges appointed by the Crown preſided in them.--- The Eaſt India Company however did not think proper to commence any ſuits, nor did they even demand ſatisfaction either from individuals or from the community in general. The Miniſtry, it ſeems, officiouſly made the caſe their own, and the great Council of the nation deſcended to intermeddle with a diſpute about private property.---Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated ex parte evidence were laid before them; neither the perſons who deſtroyed the Tea, nor the people of Boſton, were called upon to anſwer the complaint. The Miniſtry, incenſed by being diſappointed in a favourite ſcheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of fineſſe, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boſton was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be ſuſpended, and thouſands reduced to the neceſſity of gaining ſubſiſtance from charity, till they ſhould ſubmit to paſs under the yoke, and conſent to become ſlaves, by confeſſing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquieſcing in whatever diſpoſition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

Let juſtice and humanity ceaſe to be the boaſt of your nation! conſult your hiſtory, examine your records of former tranſactions, nay turn to the annals of the many arbitrary ſtates and kingdoms that ſurround you, and ſhew us a ſingle inſtance of men being condemned to ſuffer for imputed crimes, unheard, unqueſtioned, and without even the ſpecious formality of a trial; and that too by laws made expreſly for the purpoſe, and which had no exiſtence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile theſe proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and conſtitution, the taſk will become more arduous, when we call upon our miniſterial enemies to juſtify, not only condemning men untried and by hearſay, but involving the innocent in one common puniſhment with the guilty, and for the act of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, diſtreſs and calamity on thirty thouſand ſouls, and thoſe not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow ſubjects.

It would be ſome conſolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppreſſions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the neceſſity of reminding you, that under the confidence repoſed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from a Britiſh Sovereign, the forefathers of the preſent inhabitants of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay left their former habitations, and eſtabliſhed that great, flouriſhing, and loyal Colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their rights, without being heard, without being tried, without law, and without juſtice, by an Act of Parliament, their charter is deſtroyed, their liberties violated, their conſtitution and form of government changed: And all this upon no better pretence, than becauſe in one of their towns a treſpaſs was committed on ſome merchandize, ſaid to belong to one of the Companies, and becauſe the Miniſtry were of opinion, that ſuch high political regulations were neceſſary to compel due ſubordination and obedience to their mandates.

NOR are theſe the only capital grievances under which we labor. We might tell of diſſolute, weak and wicked Governors having been ſet over us; of Legiſlatures being ſuſpended for aſſerting the rights of Britiſh ſubjects----of needy and ignorant dependents on great men advanced to the ſeats of juſtice and to other places of truſt and importance;--of hard reſtrictions on commerce, and a great variety of leſſer evils, the recollection of which is almoſt loſt under the weight and preſſure of greater and more poignant calamities.

Now mark the progreſſion of the miniſterial plan for inſlaving us.

WELL aware that ſuch hardy attempts to take our property from us; to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury; to ſeize our perſons, and carry us for trial to Great-Britain; to blockade our ports; to deſtroy our Charters, and change our forms of government, would occaſion, and had already occaſioned great diſcontent in all the Colonies, which might produce oppoſition to theſe meaſures: An Act was paſſed to protect, indemnify, and ſcreen from puniſhment ſuch as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavouring to carry their oppreſſive edicts into execution; And by another Act the dominion of Canada is to be ſo extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being diſunited from us, detached from our intereſts, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily ſwelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to

Adminiſtration, ſo friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occaſion, be fit inſtruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Proteſtant Colonies to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery with themſelves.

THIS was evidently the object of the Act :---And in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forbear complaining of it, as hoſtile to Britiſh America.----Superadded to theſe conſiderations, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many Engliſh ſettlers, who, encouraged by the Royal Proclamation, promiſing the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchaſed eſtates in that country.----They are now the ſubjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when impriſoned cannot claim the benefit of the habeas corpus Act, that great bulwark and palladium of Engliſh liberty :---Nor can we ſuppreſs our aſtoniſhment, that a Britiſh Parliament ſhould ever conſent to eſtabliſh in that country a religion that has deluged your iſland in blood, and diſperſed impiety, bigotry, perſecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.

THIS being a true ſtate of facts, let us beſeech you to conſider to what end they lead.

ADMIT that the Miniſtry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, ſhould be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a ſtate of perfect humiliation and ſlavery. Such an enterprize would doubtleſs make ſome addition to your national debt, which already preſſes down your liberties, and fills you with Penſioners and Placemen --- We preſume, alſo, that your commerce will ſomewhat be diminiſhed. However, ſuppoſe you ſhould prove victorious----in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from ſuch a conqueſt?

May not a Miniſtry with the ſame armies inſlave you---it may be ſaid, you will ceaſe to pay them---but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vaſt continent will then be in the power of your enemies---nor will you have any reaſon to expect, that after making ſlaves of us, many among us ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt in reducing you to the ſame abject ſtate.

Do not treat this as chimerical---Know that in leſs than half a century, the quit-rents reſerved to the Crown, from the numberleſs grants of this vaſt continent, will pour large ſtreams of wealth into the royal coffers, and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleaſure, the Crown will be rendered independent on you for ſupplies, and will poſſeſs more treaſure than may be neceſſary to purchaſe the *remains of* Liberty in your Iſland.— in a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

We believe there is yet much virtue, much juſtice, and much public ſpirit in the Engliſh nation---To that juſtice we now appeal. You have been told that we are ſeditious, impatient of government and deſirous of independency. Be aſſured that theſe are not facts, but calumnies---Permit us to be as free as yourſelves, and we ſhall ever eſteem a union with you to be our greateſt glory and our greateſt happineſs, we ſhall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire---we ſhall conſider your enemies as our enemies, and your intereſt as our own.

But if you are determined that your Miniſters ſhall wantonly ſport with the rights of Mankind---If neither the voice of juſtice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the conſtitution, or the ſuggeſtions of humanity can reſtrain your hands from ſhedding human blood in ſuch an impious cauſe, we muſt then tell you, that we never will ſubmit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any miniſtry or nation in the world.

Place us in the ſame ſituation that we were at the cloſe of the laſt war, and our former harmony will be reſtored.

But leſt the ſame ſupineneſs and the ſame inattention to our common intereſt, which you have for ſeveral years ſhewn, ſhould continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the conſequences.

By the deſtruction of the trade of Boſton, the Miniſtry have endeavoured to induce ſubmiſſion to their meaſures.--- The like fate may befal us all, we will endeavour therefore to live without trade, and recur for ſubſiſtance to the fertility and bounty of our native ſoil, which will afford us all the neceſſaries and ſome of the conveniences of life.--- We have ſuſpended our importation from Great-Britain and Ireland; and in leſs than a year's time, unleſs our grievances ſhould be redreſſed, ſhall diſcontinue our exports to thoſe kingdoms and the Weſt-Indies.

It is with the utmoſt regret however, that we find ourſelves compelled by the overruling principles of ſelf-preſervation, to adopt meaſures detrimental in their conſequences to numbers of our fellow ſubjects in Great-Britain and Ireland. But we hope, that the magnanimity and juſtice of the Britiſh Nation will furniſh a Parliament of ſuch wiſdom, independance and public ſpirit, as may ſave the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked Miniſters and evil Counſellors whether in or out of office, and thereby reſtore that harmony, friendſhip and fraternal affection between all the Inhabitants of his Majeſty's kingdoms and territories, ſo ardently wiſhed for by every true and honeſt American.

The Congress then reſumed the conſideration of the memorial to the inhabitants of the

Britiſh colonies, and the ſame being debated by paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows:--

To the INHABITANTS *of the* COLONIES *of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the Counties of Newcaſtle, Kent and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.*

FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN,

WE, the DELEGATES appointed by the good people of theſe Colonies to meet at Philadelphia in September laſt, for the purpoſes mentioned by our reſpective Conſtituents, have in purſuance of the truſt repoſed in us, aſſembled, and taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration the important matters recommended to the Congreſs. Our reſolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But as the ſituation of public affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it may be more ſatisfactory to you to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other manner, of thoſe ſentiments that have been approved, upon a full and free diſcuſſion by the Repreſentatives of ſo great a part of America, we eſteem ourſelves obliged to add this Addreſs to theſe Reſolutions.

IN every caſe of oppoſition by a people to their rulers, or of one ſtate to another, duty to Almighty God, the creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the meaſures leading to ſuch oppoſition; and of the cauſes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be juſtified: That neither affection on the one hand, nor reſentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong biaſs to reaſon, it may be enabled to take a diſpaſſionate view of all circumſtances, and to ſettle the public conduct on the ſolid foundations of wiſdom and juſtice.

FROM Councils thus tempered ariſe the ſureſt hopes of the divine favour, the firmeſt encouragement to the parties engaged and the ſtrongeſt recommendation of their cauſe to the reſt of mankind.

WITH minds deeply impreſſed by a ſenſe of theſe truths, we have diligently, deliberately and calmly enquired into and conſidered thoſe exertions, both of the legiſlative and executive power of Great-Britain, which have excited ſo much uneaſineſs in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention conſidered the conduct of the Colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourſelves reduced to the diſagreeable alternative, of being ſilent and betraying the innocent, or of ſpeaking out and cenſuring thoſe we wiſh to revere.---In making our choice of theſe diſtreſſing difficulties, we prefer the courſe dictated by honeſty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

SOON after the concluſion of the late war, there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of theſe Colonies. By a ſtatute made in the fourth year of the preſent reign, a time of *profound peace*, alledging "the expediency of new proviſions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great-Britain and his Majeſty's dominions in America, and the *neceſſity* of *raiſing a Revenue* in the ſaid dominions for defraying the expences of *defending*, protecting and ſecuring the ſame," the *Commons of Great-Britain* undertook to *give* and *grant* to his Majeſty many rates and duties, to be paid in theſe Colonies. To enforce the obſervance of this Act, it preſcribes a great number of ſevere penalties and forfeitures; and in two ſections makes a remarkable diſtinction between the ſubjects in Great-Britain and thoſe in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *there* are to be recovered in any of the King's Courts of *Record* at *Weſtminſter*, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *here* are to be recovered in any Court of Record, or in any Court of *Admiralty* or *Vice-Admiralty, at the election of the informer or proſecutor.*

THE Inhabitants of theſe Colonies confiding in the juſtice of Great-Britain, were ſcarcely allowed *ſufficient* time to receive and conſider this Act, before another, well known by the name of the *Stamp Act*, and paſſed in the fifth year of this reign, engroſſed their whole attention. By this ſtatute the Britiſh Parliament exercıſed in the moſt explicit manner a power of *taxing* us, and extending the juriſdiction of Courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice-Admiralty* in the Colonies, to matters ariſing within the body of a county, directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures, thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the ſaid Courts.

In the ſame year a tax was impoſed upon us, by an Act, eſtabliſhing ſeveral new fees in the cuſtoms. In the next year, the Stamp Act was repealed; not becauſe it was founded in an erroneous principle, but, as the repealing Act recites, becauſe "the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniencies, and might be productive of conſequences greatly detrimental to the commercial intereſt of Great-Britain."

In the ſame year, and by a ſubſequent Act, it was declared, "that his Majeſty in Parlia-
"ment, of right, had power to bind the people
"of theſe Colonies by Statutes IN ALL CASES
"WHATSOEVER."

In the ſame year, another Act was paſſed, for impoſing rates and duties payable in theſe Colonies. In this Statute the Commons avoiding the terms of *giving* and *granting* "humbly beſought his Majeſty that it might be enacted &c." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of" ſeveral others granted by the Statute firſt before mentioned *for raiſing a revenue* and from ſome other expreſſions it appears, that theſe duties were intended *for that purpoſe.*

In the next year, (1767,) an Act was made " to enable his Majeſty to put the cuſtoms and *other duties* in America under the management of Commiſſioners &c." and the King thereupon erected the preſent expenſive Board of Commiſſioners, for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying into execution the ſeveral Acts relating to the *revenue* and trade in *America.*

After the repeal of the Stamp-Act, having again reſigned ourſelves to our antient unſuſpicious affections for the parent ſtate, and anxious to avoid any controverſy with her, in hopes of a favourable alteration in ſentiments and meaſures towards us, we did not preſs our objections againſt the above mentioned Statutes made ſubſequent to that repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling cauſes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the ſame year (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a Statute commonly called the *Glaſs, Paper and Tea Act*, made fifteen months after the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, the Commons of Great-Britain reſumed their former language, and again undertook to "*give* and *grant* rates and duties to be paid in theſe Colonies," for the expreſs purpoſe of "*raiſing a revenue*, to defray the charges of the *adminiſtration of juſtice*, the ſupport of *civil government*, and *defending* the Kings dominions," on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures, incurred under this Statute, are to be recovered *in the ſame manner*, with thoſe mentioned in the foregoing Acts.

To this Statute, ſo naturally tending to diſturb the tranquillity then univerſal throughout the Colonies, Parliament, in the ſame ſeſſion, added another no leſs extraordinary.

Ever ſince the making the preſent peace, a ſtanding army has been kept in theſe Colonies. From reſpect for the mother country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the provincial Legiſlatures generally made proviſion for ſupplying the troops.

The Aſſembly of the province of New-York, having paſſed an Act of this kind, but differing in ſome articles, from the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the *fifth* year of this reign, the Houſe of Repreſentatives in that Colony was prohibited by a Statute made in the ſeſſion laſt mentioned, from making any bill, order, reſolution or vote, except for adjourning or chuſing a Speaker, until proviſion ſhould be made by the ſaid Aſſembly for furniſhing the troops within that province, not only with all ſuch neceſſaries as were required by the Statute *which they were charged with diſobeying*, but alſo with thoſe required by two other *ſubſequent* Statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty fourth day of March 1769.

THESE Statutes of the year 1767 revived the apprehenſions and diſcontents, that had entirely ſubſided on the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*; and amidſt the juſt fears and jealouſies thereby occaſioned, a Statute was made in the next year (1768) to eſtabliſh Courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice Admiralty* on a new model, expreſsly for the end of more *effectually* recovering the *penalties* and *forfeitures* inflicted by Acts of Parliament, framed for the purpoſe of *raiſing a revenue* in America, &c.

THE immediate tendency of theſe ſtatutes is, to ſubvert the right of having a ſhare in legiſlation, by rendering Aſſemblies uſeleſs; the right of property, by taking the money of the Coloniſts without their conſent; the right of trials by jury, by ſubſtituting in their place trials in Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts, where ſingle Judges preſide, holding their Commiſſions during pleaſure; and unduely to influence the Courts of common law, by rendering the Judges thereof totally dependent on the Crown for their ſalaries.

THESE ſtatutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular ſyſtem, in which every part has great force, but alſo a pertinacious adherence to that ſyſtem, for ſubjugating theſe Colonies, that are not, and from local circumſtances, cannot be repreſented in the Houſe of Commons, to the uncontroulable and unlimited power of Parliament; in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated ſupplications.

THIS conduct muſt appear equally aſtoniſhing and unjuſtifiable, when it is conſidered how unprovoked it has been by any behaviour of theſe Colonies. From their firſt ſettlement, their bittereſt enemies never fixed on any of them a charge of diſloyalty to their Sovereign or diſaffection to their Mother-Country. In the wars ſhe has carried on, they have exerted themſelves whenever required, in giving her aſſiſtance; and have rendered her ſervices, which ſhe has publickly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty and uſefulneſs during the laſt war, were frequently and affectionately confeſſed by his late Majeſty and the preſent King.

THE reproaches of thoſe, who are moſt unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled againſt the province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay; but with what little reaſon, will appear by the following declarations of a perſon, the truth of whoſe evidence, in their favour, will not be queſtioned---Governor Bernard thus addreſſes the two Houſes of Aſſembly ---in his ſpeech on the 24th of April 1762,--- "The unanimity and diſpatch, with which you have complied with the *requiſitions of his Majeſty*, require my particular acknowledgement.

And it gives me additional pleaſure to obſerve, that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due ſenſe of your duty, both as members of a general empire, and as the body of a particular province."

In another ſpeech on the 27th of May, in the ſame year, he ſays,---"Whatever ſhall be the event of the war, it muſt be no ſmall ſatiſfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full ſhare to the ſupport of it. *Every thing that hath been required of it hath been complied with*; and the execution of the powers committed to me, for raiſing the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never before were regiments ſo eaſily levied, ſo well compoſed, and ſo early in the field as they have been this year; the common people ſeemed to be animated with the ſpirit of the general Court, and to vie with them in their readineſs to ſerve the King."

Such was the conduct of the People of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, during the laſt war. As to their behaviour before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great-Britain, that not only on every occaſion they had conſtantly and chearfully complied with the frequent royal requiſitions---but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts, Nova-Scotia was ſubdued in 1710, and Louiſbourg in 1745.

Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domeſtic diſturbances, that quickly ſucceeded on account of the ſtamp-act, being quieted by its repeal, the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts-Bay tranſmitted an humble addreſs of thanks to the King and divers Noblemen, and ſoon after paſſed a bill for granting compenſation to the ſufferers in the diſorder occaſioned by that act.

THESE circumſtances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's Letters in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly ſhew, with what grateful tenderneſs they ſtrove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occaſion of the late diſcords, and with what reſpectful deference they endeavoured to eſcape other ſubjects of future controverſy. "The Houſe, "(ſays the Governor) from the time of opening "the ſeſſion to this day, has ſhewn a diſpoſition "to *avoid* all diſpute with me; every thing "having paſſed with as much good humour as "I could deſire, except only their continuing "to act in *addreſſing* the King, *remonſtrating* to "the Secretary of State, and *employing* a ſeparate agent. It is the *importance of this innovation*, without any wilfulneſs of my own, which "induces me to make this remonſtrance at a "time when I have a fair proſpect of having, *in* "*all other buſineſs*, nothing but good to ſay of "the proceedings of the Houſe."*

"THEY have acted *in all things*, even in their "remonſtrance *with temper and moderation*; they "have *avoided* ſome ſubjects of diſpute, and have "laid a foundation for *removing* ſome cauſes of "former altercation."†

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* January 21, 1768. † January 30, 1768.

" I ſhall make ſuch a prudent and proper uſe
" of this Letter as, I hope, will perfectly reſtore
" the peace and tranquillity of this province, for
" which purpoſe *conſiderable ſteps have been made*
" *by the Houſe of Repreſentatives.*"*

The vindication of the province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay contained in theſe Letters will have greater force, if it be conſidered, that they were written ſeveral months after the freſh alarm given to the colonies by the ſtatutes paſſed in the preceding year.

In this place it ſeems proper to take notice of the inſinuation in one of theſe ſtatutes, that the interference of Parliament was *neceſſary* to provide for " defraying the charge of the *adminiſtration of juſtice*, the ſupport of *civil government*, and defending the King's dominions in " America."

As to the two firſt articles of expence, every colony had made ſuch proviſion, as by their reſpective Aſſemblies, the beſt judges on ſuch occaſions, was thought expedient, and ſuitable to their ſeveral circumſtances. Reſpecting the laſt, it is well known to all men the leaſt acquainted with American affairs, that the colonies were eſtabliſhed, and have generally defended themſelves, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from Great-Britain; and, that at the time of her *taxing* them by the ſtatutes before mentioned, moſt of them were labouring under very heavy debts contracted in the laſt war. So far were they from ſparing their money, when their Sovereign, conſtitutionally,

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* February 2, 1768.

aſked their aids, that during the courſe of that war, Parliament repeatedly made them compenſations for the expences of thoſe ſtrenuous efforts, which, conſulting their zeal rather than their ſtrength, they had chearfully incurred.

SEVERE as the Acts of *Parliament* beforementioned are, yet the conduct of *Adminiſtration* has been equally injurious, and irritating to this devoted country.

UNDER pretence of governing them, ſo many new inſtitutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incenſed maſters, for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.

BY an order of the King, the authority of the Commander in chief, and under him of the Brigadiers general, *in time of peace*, is rendered *ſupreme* in all the civil governments in *America*; and thus an uncontroulable military power is veſted in officers not known to the conſtitution of theſe colonies.

A LARGE body of troops and a conſiderable armament of ſhips of war have been ſent to aſſiſt in taking their money without their conſent.

EXPENSIVE and oppreſſive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption induſtriouſly practiſed to divide and deſtroy.

THE Judges of the Admiralty and Vice Admiralty Courts are impowered to receive their ſalaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themſelves.

THE Commiſſioners of the cuſtoms are impowered to break open and enter houſes without the authority of any civil magiſtrate founded on legal information.

JUDGES of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependent on the Crown for their commiſſions and ſalaries.

A COURT has been eſtabliſhed at Rhode-Iſland, for the purpoſe of taking Coloniſts to England to be tried.

HUMBLE and reaſonable petitions from the Repreſentatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt; and Aſſemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily diſſolved.

FROM ſome few inſtances it will ſufficiently appear, on what pretences of juſtice thoſe diſſolutions have been founded.

THE tranquillity of the colonies having been again diſturbed, as has been mentioned, by the ſtatutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Governor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, cenſures the "*preſumption*" of the Houſe of Repreſentatives for "reſolving upon a meaſure of ſo in-" flammatory a nature *as that of writing to the*" *other colonies, on the ſubject of their intended re-*" *preſentations againſt ſome late Acts of Parlia-*" *ment,*"

" *ment,*" then declares that, " his Majeſty con-
" ſiders this ſtep as evidently tending to create
" unwarrantable combinations to excite an un-
" juſtifiable oppoſition to the conſtitutional au-
" thority of Parliament."—and afterwards adds,
" —It is *the King's pleaſure,* that as ſoon as the
" General Court is again aſſembled, at the time
" preſcribed by the Charter, you ſhould require
" of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, in his Ma-
" jeſty's name, to *reſcind* the reſolution which
" gave birth to the circular letter from the
" Speaker, and to declare their diſapprobation
" of, and diſſent to that raſh and haſty proceed-
" ing."

" If the new Aſſembly ſhould refuſe to com-
" ply with his Majeſty's reaſonable expectation,
" it is the King's pleaſure, that you ſhould im-
" mediately diſſolve them."

This letter being laid before the Houſe, and the reſolution not being reſcinded according to the order, the Aſſembly was diſſolved. A letter of a ſimilar nature was ſent to other Governors to procure reſolutions approving the conduct of the Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, to be *reſcinded* alſo; and the Houſes of Repreſentatives in other colonies refuſing to comply, Aſſemblies were diſſolved.

These mandates ſpoke a language, to which the ears of Engliſh ſubjects had for ſeveral generations been ſtrangers. The nature of aſſemblies implies a power and right of deliberation;

ration; but theſe commands, proſcribing the exerciſe of judgment on the propriety of the requiſitions made, left to the Aſſemblies only the election between dictated ſubmiſſion and threatened puniſhment: A puniſhment too, founded on no other act, than ſuch as is deemed innocent even in ſlaves---of agreeing in *petitions* for redreſs of grievances, that equally affect all.

THE hoſtile and unjuſtifiable invaſion of the town of Boſton ſoon followed theſe events in the ſame year; though that town, the province in which it is ſituated, and all the colonies, from abhorrence of a conteſt with their parent ſtate, permitted the execution even of thoſe ſtatutes, againſt which they ſo unanimouſly were complaining, remonſtrating and ſupplicating.

ADMINISTRATION, determined to ſubdue a ſpirit of freedom, which Engliſh Miniſters ſhould have *rejoiced* to cheriſh, entered into a monopoliſing combination with the Eaſt-India company, to ſend to this continent vaſt quantities of Tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a ſtatute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which therefore the inhabitants of theſe Colonies had reſolved not to import. The cargo ſent to South-Carolina was ſtored, and not allowed to be ſold. Thoſe ſent to Philadelphia and New-York were not permitted to be landed. That ſent to Boſton was deſtroyed, becauſe Governor Hutchinſon would not ſuffer it to be returned.

On the intelligence of theſe tranſactions arriving in Great-Britain, the public ſpirited town laſt mentioned was ſingled out for deſtruction, and it was determined, the province it belongs to ſhould partake of its fate. In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament therefore were paſſed the acts for ſhutting up the port of Boſton, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and changing their chartered conſtitution of government. To inforce theſe acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention theſe outrageous proceedings, is ſufficient to explain them. For tho' it is pretended, that the province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay has been particularly diſreſpectful to Great-Britain, yet in truth the behaviour of the people, in other colonies, has been an equal "oppoſition to the power aſſumed by "parliament." No ſtep however has been taken againſt any of the reſt. This artful conduct conceals ſeveral deſigns. It is expected that the province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay will be irritated into ſome violent action, that may diſpleaſe the reſt of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great-Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exaſperated miniſtry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province ſhall diſappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other colonies will be ſo far intimidated as to deſert their brethren, ſuffering in a common cauſe, and that thus diſunited all may be ſubdued.

To promote theſe deſigns, another meaſure has been purſued. In the ſeſſion of parliament laſt mentioned, an act was paſſed, for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, inſtead of being tolerated, as ſtipulated by the treaty of peace, is eſtabliſhed; and the people there are deprived of the right to an aſſembly, trials by jury and the Engliſh laws in civil caſes are aboliſhed, and inſtead thereof, the French laws are eſtabliſhed, in direct violation of his Majeſty's promiſe by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many Engliſh ſubjects ſettled in that province: and the limits of that province are extended ſo as to comprehend thoſe vaſt regions, that lie adjoining to the northerly and weſterly boundaries of theſe colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themſelves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked againſt thoſe of another religion, will be proper inſtruments for aſſiſting in the oppreſſion of ſuch, as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a reſolution is formed and is now carrying into execution, to extinguiſh the freedom of theſe colonies, by ſubjecting them to a deſpotic government.

At this unhappy period, we have been authorized and directed to meet and conſult together for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important truſt with diffidence, but have endeavoured to diſcharge it with integrity. Though the ſtate of theſe colonies would certainly juſtify other meaſures than we have adviſed, yet weighty reaſons determined us to prefer thoſe which we have adopted. In the firſt place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character, theſe colonies have ever ſuſtained, to perform, even in the midſt of the unnatural diſtreſſes and imminent dangers that ſurround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore, we were induced to offer once more to his Majeſty the petitions of his faithful and oppreſſed ſubjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection, which we knew to be ſo univerſal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom, from which we derive our origin, we could not forbear to regulate our ſteps by an expectation of receiving full conviction, that the coloniſts are equally dear to them. Between theſe provinces and that body ſubſiſts the ſocial band, which we ardently wiſh *may never* be diſſolved, and which *cannot* be diſſolved, until their minds ſhall become *indiſputably hoſtile*, or their *inattention* ſhall permit thoſe who are thus hoſtile to perſiſt in proſecuting with the powers of the realm the deſtructive meaſures already operating againſt the coloniſts; and in either caſe, ſhall reduce the latter to ſuch a ſituation, that they ſhall be compelled to renounce every regard, but that of ſelf-preſervation. Notwithſtanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have choſen a method of oppoſition, that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow-citizens on the other ſide of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent neceſſity that preſſes us to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We truſt they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting, that we ſubject ourſelves to ſimilar inconveniencies; that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulſions, and that we are contending for freedom, ſo often contended for by our anceſtors.

The people of England will ſoon have an opportunity of declaring their ſentiments concerning our cauſe. In their piety, generoſity, and good ſenſe, we repoſe high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of paſt events, be perſuaded, that *they*, the defenders of true religion, and the aſſertors of the rights of mankind, will take part againſt their affectionate proteſtant brethren in the colonies, in favour of *our open* and *their own ſecret* enemies, whoſe intrigues, for ſeveral years paſt, have been wholly exerciſed in ſapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

ANOTHER reaſon, that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of oppoſition, aroſe from an aſſurance, that this mode will prove efficacious, if it be perſiſted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by theſe laudable principles, cannot be queſtioned. Your own ſalvation, and that of your poſterity, now depends upon yourſelves. You have already ſhewn that you entertain a proper ſenſe of the bleſſings you are ſtriving to retain. Againſt the temporary inconveniencies you may ſuffer from a ſtoppage of trade, you will weigh in the oppoſite balance, the endleſs miſeries you and your deſcendants muſt endure from an eſtabliſhed arbitrary power. You will not forget the honour of your country, that muſt from your behaviour take its title in the eſtimation of the world, to glory, or to ſhame; and you will, with the deepeſt attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of oppoſition recommended by us be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty miniſterial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmneſs, inſolently predict will be the caſe, you muſt inevitably be reduced to chuſe, either a more dangerous conteſt, or a final, ruinous, and infamous ſubmiſſion.

MOTIVES thus cogent, ariſing from the emergency of your unhappy condition, muſt excite your utmoſt diligence and zeal, to give all poſſible ſtrength and energy to the pacific meaſures calculated for your relief: But we think ourſelves bound in duty to obſerve to you, that the ſchemes agitated againſt theſe colonies have been ſo conducted, as to render it prudent, that you ſhould extend your views to mournful events, and be in all reſpects prepared for every contingency. Above all things we earneſtly intreat you, with devotion of ſpirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourſelves, and implore the favour of Almighty GOD: and we fervently beſeech his divine goodneſs, to take you into his gracious protection.

Reſolved, THAT an addreſs be prepared to the people of Quebec, and letters to the colonies of St. Johns, Nova Scotia, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt Florida, who have not Deputies to repreſent them in this Congreſs.—

Ordered, THAT Mr. Cuſhing, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Dickinſon be a Committee to prepare the above addreſs and letters.

THE addreſs to the King being brought in, was read and after debate

Ordered, THAT the ſame be re-committed, and that Mr. J. Dickinſon be added to the Committee.

UPON motion

Reſolved, THAT the ſeizing or attempting to ſeize any perſon in America, in order to tranſport ſuch perſon beyond the ſea for trial of offences, committed within the body of a county in America, being againſt law, will juſtify, and ought to meet with reſiſtance and repriſal.

SATURDAY,

SATURDAY, *October* 22, 1774.

THE honorable Peyton Randolph, Eſq; being unable to attend, on account of indiſpoſition, the honorable Henry Middleton, Eſq; was choſen to ſupply his place as Preſident.

AN Addreſs from Chriſtopher Tully was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered, THAT the Journal of the Proceedings of the Congreſs as corrected, be ſent to the Preſs, and printed under the direction of Mr. Biddle, Mr. Dickinſon and the Secretary.

Reſolved, As the opinion of this Congreſs, that it will be neceſſary that another Congreſs ſhould be held on the tenth day of May next, unleſs the redreſs of grievances, which we have deſired, be obtained before that time.—And we recommend, that the ſame be held at the City of Philadelphia, and that all the Colonies in North-America chuſe Deputies, as ſoon as poſſible, to attend ſuch Congreſs.

THE Committee appointed to prepare a letter to the colonies of St. John's, &c. reported a draught, which was read, and being amended, the ſame was approved and is as follows.

Philadelphia, October 22, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

" *THE preſent critical and truly alarming ſtate of American affairs, having been conſidered in* *a General Congreſs of Deputies from the Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, New-Caſtle Kent and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, with that attention and mature deliberation, which the important nature of the caſe demands, they have determined, for themſelves and the Colonies they repreſent, on the meaſures contained in the encloſed papers; which meaſures they recommend to your colony to be adopted with all the earneſtneſs, that a well directed zeal for American Liberty can prompt.*

So rapidly violent and unjuſt has been the late conduct of the Britiſh adminiſtration againſt the Colonies, that either a baſe and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, under the loſs of their ancient, juſt and conſtitutional liberty, muſt quickly take place, or an adequate oppoſition be formed.

We pray God to take you under his protection, and to preſerve the freedom and happineſs of the whole Britiſh empire.

By Order of the Congreſs.

HENRY MIDDLETON, Preſident.

MONDAY, *October* 24, 1774.

THE addreſs to the people of Quebec being brought in, was read and after ſome debate was re-committed.

The Committee, to whom the addreſs to the King was re-committed, reported a draught, which was read, and ordered to be taken into conſideration to-morrow.

Tuesday, *October* 25, 1774.

The Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the addreſs to his Majeſty, and the ſame being debated by paragraphs, was, after ſome amendments, approved and ordered to be engroſſed.

Reſolved, That the addreſs to the King be encloſed in a letter to the ſeveral colony Agents, in order that the ſame may be by them preſented to his Majeſty; and that the Agents be requeſted to call in the aid of ſuch Noblemen and Gentlemen as are eſteemed firm friends to American liberty.

Ordered, That Mr. Lee and Mr. Jay prepare a letter to the Agents.

Reſolved, That this Congreſs in their own names and in behalf of all thoſe, whom they repreſent, do preſent their moſt grateful acknowledgments to thoſe truly noble, honourable and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who have ſo generouſly and powerfully, though unſucceſsfully eſpouſed and defended the cauſe of America, both in and out of Parliament.

Wednesday, *October* 26, 1774.

The letter to the Agents being brought in by the Committee, was read and approved, as follows—

Philadelphia, October 26, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

WE give you the ſtrongeſt proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happineſs of America and the cauſe of liberty, when we commit the encloſed paper to your care.

We deſire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his Majeſty, and after it has been preſented, we wiſh it may be made public through the preſs, together with the liſt of grievances. And as we hope for great aſſiſtance from the ſpirit, virtue and juſtice of the nation, it is our earneſt deſire, that the moſt effectual care be taken, as early as poſſible, to furniſh the trading cities and manufacturing towns, throughout the united kingdom, with our memorial to the people of Great-Britain.

We doubt not, but your good ſenſe and diſcernment will lead you to avail yourſelves of every aſſiſtance that may be derived from the advice and friendſhip of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cauſe of liberty and mankind.

The gratitude of America expreſſed in the encloſed vote of thanks we deſire may be conveyed to the deſerving objects of it, in the manner, that you think will be moſt acceptable to them.

It is propoſed that another Congreſs be held on the 10th of May next at this place, but in the mean time we beg the favour of you, Gentlemen, to tranſmit to the Speakers of the ſeveral Aſſemblies the earlieſt information of the moſt authentic accounts, *you can collect, of all ſuch conduct and deſigns of Miniſtry or Parliament, as it may concern America to know.*

We are with unfeigned eſteem and regard,

Gentlemen &c.

By order and in behalf of the Congreſs,

HENRY MIDDLETON, Preſident.

To Paul Wentworth, Eſq;
Doctr. Benj. Franklin,
William Bollen, Eſq;
Doctr. Arthur Lee,
Thomas Life, Eſq;
Edmund Burke, Eſq;
Charles Garth, Eſq;

THE Committee, to whom the addreſs to the inhabitants of Quebec was recommitted; reported a draught, which was read and being debated by paragraphs and amended, was approved and is as follows:

To the INHABITANTS *of the Province of* QUEBEC.

Friends and Fellow-Subjects,

WE, the DELEGATES of the Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, The Counties of Newcaſtle Kent and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the ſaid Colonies, to repreſent them in a General Congreſs at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennſylvania, to conſult together concerning the beſt methods to obtain redreſs of our afflicting grievances, having accordingly aſſembled, and taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration the ſtate of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to addreſs your province, as a member therein deeply intereſted.

When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious reſiſtance, had incorporated you with the body of Engliſh ſubjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generoſity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bleſs to you the diſpenſations of his over-ruling providence, by ſecuring to you and your lateſt poſterity the ineſtimable advantages of a free Engliſh conſtitution of government, which it is the privilege of all Engliſh ſubjects to enjoy.

These hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, iſſued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of thoſe advantages.

Little did we imagine that any ſucceeding Miniſters would ſo audaciouſly and cruelly abuſe the royal authority, as to with-hold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus juſtly entitled.

BUT ſince we have lived to ſee the unexpected time, when Miniſters of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the moſt ſacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from diſcovering the unſpeakable worth of *that* form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we eſteem it our duty, for the weighty reaſons herein after mentioned, to explain to you ſome of its moſt important branches.

"IN every human ſociety," ſays the celebrated Marquis *Beccaria*, "there is an *effort, continually tending* to confer on one part the heighth of power and happineſs, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakneſs and miſery. The intent of good laws is to *oppoſe this effort*, and to diffuſe their influence *univerſally* and *equally*."

RULERS, ſtimulated by this pernicious "effort," and ſubjects, animated by the juſt "intent of oppoſing good laws againſt it," have occaſioned that vaſt variety of events, that fill the hiſtories of ſo many nations. All theſe hiſtories demonſtrate the truth of this ſimple poſition, that to live by the will of one man, or ſett of men, is the production of miſery to all men.

ON the ſolid foundation of this principle, Engliſhmen reared up the fabrick of their conſtitution with ſuch a ſtrength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: And, as an illuſtrious author * of your nation, hereafter mentioned, obſerves,---"They gave the people of their Colonies the form of their own government, and this government carrying proſperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the foreſts they were ſent to inhabit."

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* Monteſquieu.

In this form, the firſt grand right is that of the people having a ſhare in their own government by their repreſentatives choſen by themſelves, and, in conſequence, of being ruled by *laws*, which they themſelves approve, not by *edicts* of *men* over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark ſurrounding and defending their property, which by their honeſt cares and labours they have acquired, ſo that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free conſent, when they in their judgment deem it juſt and neceſſary to give them for public ſervices, and preciſely direct the eaſieſt, cheapeſt, and moſt equal methods, in which they ſhall be collected.

The influence of this right extends ſtill farther. If money is wanted by Rulers who have in any manner oppreſſed the people, they may retain it, until their grievances are redreſſed; and thus peaceably procure relief, without truſting to deſpiſed petitions, or diſturbing the public tranquility.

The next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty nor property can be taken from the poſſeſſor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers, of his vicinage, who from that neighbourhood may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the witneſſes, upon a fair trial, and full enquiry face to face, in open Court, before as many of the people as chuſe to attend, ſhall paſs their ſentence upon oath againſt him; a ſentence that cannot injure him, without injuring their own reputation, and probably their intereſt alſo; as the queſtion may turn on points, that, in ſome degree, concern the general welfare; and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent, that, on a ſimilar trial of their own, may militate againſt themſelves.

Another right relates merely to the liberty of the perſon. If a ſubject is ſeized and impriſoned, tho' by order of Government, he may, by virtue of this right, immediately obtain a writ, termed a Habeas Corpus, from a Judge, whoſe ſworn duty it is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal reſtraint to be quickly enquired into and redreſſed.

A fourth right is that of holding lands by the tenure of eaſy rents, and not by rigorous and oppreſſive ſervices, frequently forcing the poſſeſſors from their families and their buſineſs, to perform what ought to be done, in all well regulated ſtates, by men hired for the purpoſe.

The laſt right, we ſhall mention, regards the freedom of the preſs. The importance of this conſiſts, beſides the advancement of truth, ſcience, morality, and arts in general, in its diffuſion of liberal ſentiments on the adminiſtration of Government,

vernment, its ready communication of thoughts between ſubjects, and its conſequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppreſſive officers are ſhamed or intimidated into more honourable and juſt modes of conducting affairs.

THESE are the invaluable rights, that form a conſiderable part of our mild ſyſtem of government; that, ſending its equitable energy through all ranks and claſſes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the induſtrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their ſuperiors.

THESE are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, theſe Colonies have hitherto ſo amazingly flouriſhed and increaſed. Theſe are the rights, a profligate Miniſtry are now ſtriving, by force of arms, to raviſh from us, and which we are, with one mind, reſolved never to reſign but with our lives.

THESE are the rights, *you* are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection to exerciſe. And what is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament in their place? Liberty of conſcience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly ſtipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws, divine and human, could ſecure it againſt the deſpotic caprices of wicked men, it was ſecured before. Are the French laws in *civil* caſes reſtored? *It ſeems ſo.* But obſerve the cautious kindneſs of the Miniſters, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the ſtatute are---that thoſe "laws ſhall be the rule, until they ſhall be *varied* or *altered* by any ordinances of the Governor and Council." Is the "certainty and lenity of the *criminal* law of England, and its benefits and advantages," commended in the ſaid ſtatute; and ſaid to "have been ſenſibly felt by you," ſecured to you and your deſcendants? No. They too are ſubjected to arbitrary "*alterations*" by the Governor and Council; and a power is expreſly reſerved of appointing "ſuch Courts of *criminal*, *civil* and *eccleſiaſtical* juriſdiction, as ſhall be thought proper." Such is the precarious tenure of mere *will*, by which you hold your lives and religion. The Crown and its Miniſters are impowered, as far as they could be by Parliament, to eſtabliſh even the *Inquiſition* itſelf among you. Have you an Aſſembly compoſed of worthy men, elected by yourſelves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity, and in what manner, your money ſhall be taken from you? No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the Governor and Council, all of them dependant upon, and removable at the *pleaſure* of a Miniſter. Beſides, another late ſtatute, made without your conſent, has ſubjected you to the impoſitions of *Exciſe*, the horror of all free ſtates; thus wreſting your property from you by the moſt odious of taxes, and laying open to inſolent tax-gatherers, houſes, the ſcenes of domeſtic peace and comfort, and called the caſtles of Engliſh ſubjects in the books of their law. And in the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authoriſed to "aſſeſs, levy or apply any *rates* and *taxes*, but for the inferior purpoſes of *making roads*, and erecting and repairing *public buildings*, or for other *local* conveniences, within your reſpective towns and diſtricts." Why this degrading diſtinction? Ought not the property honeſtly acquired by *Canadians* to be held as ſacred as that of *Engliſhmen?* Have not Canadians ſenſe enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering ſtones from one place and piling them up in another? Unhappy people! who are not only injured, but inſulted. Nay more!--- With ſuch a ſuperlative contempt of your underſtanding and ſpirit has an inſolent Miniſtry preſumed to think of you, our reſpectable fellow-ſubjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to perſwade themſelves that your gratitude, for the injuries and inſults they have recently offered to you, will engage you to take up arms, and render yourſelves the ridicule and deteſtation of the world, by becoming tools, in their hands, to aſſiſt them in taking that freedom from *us*, which they have treacherouſly denied to *you*; the unavoidable conſequence of which attempt, if ſucceſsful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your poſterity being ever reſtored to freedom: For ideocy itſelf cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with leſs cruelty than they have us, who are of the ſame blood with themſelves.

WHAT would your countryman, the immortal *Monteſquieu*, have ſaid to ſuch a plan of domination, as has been framed for you? Hear his words, with an intenſeneſs of thought ſuited to the importance of the ſubject.---" In a free ſtate, every man, who is ſuppoſed a free agent, *ought to be concerned in his own government:* Therefore the *legiſlative* ſhould reſide in the whole body of the *people*, or their *repreſentatives*."----" The political liberty of the ſubject is *a tranquillity of mind*, ariſing from the opinion each perſon has of his *ſafety*. In order to have this liberty, it is requiſite the government be ſo conſtituted, as that one man need not be *afraid* of another. When the power of *making* laws, and the power of *executing* them, are *united* in the ſame perſon, or in the ſame body of Magiſtrates, *there can be no liberty*; becauſe apprehenſions may ariſe, leſt the ſame *Monarch* or *Senate* ſhould *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner."

" THE power of *judging* ſhould be exerciſed by perſons taken from the *body of the people*, at certain times of the year, and purſuant to a form and manner preſcribed by law. *There is no liberty*, if the power of *judging* be not *ſeparated* from the *legiſlative* and *executive* powers."

" MILITARY men belong to a profeſſion, which *may be* uſeful, but *is often* dangerous."--" The enjoyment of liberty, and even its ſupport and preſervation, conſiſts in every man's being allowed to ſpeak his thoughts, and lay open his ſentiments.

APPLY theſe deciſive maxims, ſanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to your own ſtate. You have a Governor, it may be urged, veſted with the *executive* powers, or the powers of *adminiſtration*. In him, and in your Council, is lodged the power of *making laws*. You have *Judges*, who are to *decide* every cauſe affecting your lives, liberty or property. Here is, indeed, an appearance of the ſeveral powers being *ſeparated* and *diſtributed* into *different* hands, for checks one upon another, the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and proſperity. But ſcorning to be illuded by a tinſel'd outſide, and exerting the natural ſagacity of Frenchmen, *examine* the ſpecious device, and you will find it, to uſe an expreſſion of holy writ, "a whited ſepulchre," for burying your lives, liberty and property.

YOUR *Judges*, and your *Legiſlative Council*, as it is called, are *dependant* on your *Governor*, and *he* is *dependant* on the ſervant of the Crown in Great Britain. The *legiſlative*, *executive* and *judging* powers are *all* moved by the nods of a Miniſter. Privileges and immunities laſt no longer than his ſmiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms diſſolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered you, that every ſentence, beginning with a benevolent pretenſion, concludes with a deſtructive power; and the ſubſtance of the whole, diveſted of its ſmooth words, is---that the Crown and its Miniſters ſhall be as abſolute throughout your extended province, as the de-

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ſpots of Aſia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of neceſſitous and cruel maſters? your perſons from Letters de Cachet, goals, dungeons, and oppreſſive ſervices? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers? We defy you, caſting your view upon every ſide, to diſcover a ſingle circumſtance, promiſing from any quarter the fainteſt hope of liberty to you or your poſterity, but from an entire adoption into the union of theſe Colonies.

WHAT advice would the truly great man before mentioned, that advocate of freedom and humanity, give you, was he now living, and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbours, animated by a juſt love of our invaded rights, and united by the indiſſoluble bands of affection and intereſt, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourſelves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our righteous conteſt, to make common cauſe with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating ſubjection under Governors, Intendants, and Military Tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of Engliſh freemen, whoſe cuſtom it is, derived from their anceſtors, to make thoſe tremble, who dare to think of making them miſerable?

WOULD not this be the purport of his addreſs? "Seize the opportunity preſented to you by Providence itſelf. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a ſmall people, compared to thoſe who with open arms invite you into a fellowſhip. A moment's reflection ſhould convince you which will be moſt for your intereſt and happineſs, to have all the reſt of North-America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boſton have rouſed and aſſociated every colony, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting to compleat the bright and ſtrong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political intereſts. For their own ſakes, they never will deſert or betray you. Be aſſured, that the happineſs of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their ſpirit to aſſert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immenſe. Heaven grant you may not diſcover them to be bleſſings after they have bid you an eternal adieu."

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of ſentiment diſtinguiſhing your nation, to imagine, that difference of religion will prejudice you againſt a hearty amity with us. You know, that the tranſcendant nature of freedom elevates thoſe, who unite in her cauſe, above all ſuch low minded infirmities. The Swiſs Cantons furniſh a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is compoſed of Roman Catholic and Proteſtant States, living in the utmoſt concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever ſince they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

Should there be any among you, as there generally are in all ſocieties, who prefer the favours of Miniſters, and their own private intereſts, to the welfare of their country, the temper of ſuch ſelfiſh perſons will render them incredibly active in oppoſing all public-ſpirited meaſures, from an expectation of being well rewarded for their ſordid induſtry, by their ſuperiors; but we doubt not you will be upon your guard againſt ſuch men, and not ſacrifice the liberty and happineſs of the whole Canadian people and their poſterity, to gratify the avarice and ambition of individuals.

We do not aſk you, by this addreſs, to commence acts of hoſtility againſt the government of our common Sovereign. We only invite you to conſult your own glory and welfare, and not to ſuffer yourſelves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous Miniſters ſo far, as to become the inſtruments of their cruelty and deſpotiſm, but to unite with us in one ſocial compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by ſuch an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly deſirable union, we ſubmit it to your conſideration, whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your ſeveral towns and diſtricts, and elect Deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial Congreſs, may chuſe Delegates, to repreſent your province in the continental Congreſs to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May, 1775.

In this preſent Congreſs, beginning on the fifth of the laſt month, and continued to this day, it has been, with univerſal pleaſure and an unanimous vote, reſolved, That we ſhould conſider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your province, as a violation of our own, and that you ſhould be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect ſecurity of the natural and civil rights of all the conſtituent members, according to their reſpective circumſtances, and the preſervation of a happy and laſting connection with Great-Britain, on the ſalutary and conſtitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting theſe purpoſes, we have addreſſed an humble and loyal petition to his Majeſty, praying relief of our and your grievances; and have aſſociated to ſtop all importations from Great-Britain and Ireland, after the firſt day of December, and all exportations to thoſe Kingdoms and the Weſt-Indies, after the tenth day of next September, unleſs the ſaid grievances are redreſſed.

That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and neceſſary meaſures, to add yourſelves to us, to put your fate, whenever you ſuffer injuries which you are determined to oppoſe, not on the ſmall influence of your ſingle province, but on the conſolidated powers of North-America, and may grant to our joint exertions an event as happy as our cauſe is juſt, is the fervent prayer of us, your ſincere and affectionate friends and fellow-ſubjects.

By order of the Congreſs,
Henry Middleton, Preſident.

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Reſolved, THAT the Addreſs of the Congreſs to the people of Quebec be ſigned by the Preſident, and that the Delegates of the province of Pennſylvania ſuperintend the tranſlating, printing, publiſhing and diſperſing it: And it is recommended by the Congreſs to the Delegates of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay and New-York, to aſſiſt in and forward the diſperſion of the ſaid Addreſs.

Two copies of the Addreſs to the King being engroſſed and compared were ſigned at the table by all the members.

Reſolved, THAT the thanks of this Congreſs be given to the honourable Houſe of Repreſentatives of the colony of Pennſylvania, for their politeneſs to this Congreſs; and that the Delegates for this colony be a committee to communicate this reſolution to the ſaid honourable Houſe.

A true Copy,

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary*.